

# THE BLACK PANTHER

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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### INSIDE

•Fidel Castro On Cuban  
Solidarity With Angola

PAGE 2

•Tear Gas Moratorium  
In N.Y. Jails?

PAGE 9

•Elaine Brown's Address  
At Chicago  
Tenants Conference

CENTERFOLD

•M.P.L.A. Advances On  
Enemy "Capital"

PAGE 17

## FRED HAMPTON MURDER CASE

# F.B.I. ORDERED

# TO YIELD

# B.P.P. FILES

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FEB 17 1976

UNIV. OF VIRGINIA  
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

Subpoena Duces Tecum

Case No. 70 C 1384

### United States District Court Northern District of Illinois

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

to RICHARD HELD, SAC  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
219 South Dearborn Street  
Chicago, Illinois

GUNNYING

WE COMMAND YOU, that all business and papers being held by you and each of you attend before Honorable Judge Samuel Perry, one of the Judges of the United States

District Court for said District, on the 21st day of January, A.D. 1976, at 10:00 o'clock in the morning in Room 2544 United States Court House in Chicago, in said District, to testify and give evidence in a certain case now pending and undetermined in said Court, wherein Thelma Hampton, et al. is plaintiff and Richard V. Hunsicker, et al., are

Defendant, et al., on the part of said plaintiffs. And that you also diligently and carefully search for, examine, and inquire after and bring with you, and produce at the time and place aforesaid, a certain

SUBPOENA DUCES TECUM ATTACHED AND MADE A PART HEREOF.

together with all copies, drafts, and versions relating to the said documents, and all other documents, letters, and paper writings whatsoever, that can or may afford any information or evidence in said case. And this you shall do under the penalty of the law in that case made and provided.

To the Marshal of the Northern District of Illinois to execute and return in due form of law.

H. STUART CUNNINGHAM

(SEAL)

Clerk

Deputy Clerk

Dated: January 16, 1976



(Chicago, Ill.) - U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry last week ordered the FBI to yield to lawyers for the plaintiffs in the \$47 million Fred Hampton murder case secret COINTELPRO documents on the Illinois State Chapter of the Black Panther Party and other FBI materials and files.

James Montgomery, a well-known Black attorney who recently joined the case on behalf of the plaintiffs, argued for nearly two and one-half hours, with "calm but intense brilliance" according to one courtroom report, against a defense motion to quash the subpoenaed documents, citing a number of legal precedents.

Montgomery's argument was basically that before Judge Perry could rule that the documents were not relevant as evidence, he had to hear arguments from both the defense and the plaintiffs. The plaintiffs therefore had a right to see the documents in order to argue.

Prior to ordering that the COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program) files be turned over, Perry stated that he would probably never agree to their being admitted into evidence, since this would "open Pandora's Box." He then issued a protective order prohibiting the lawyers from showing or discussing the documents with anyone but themselves.

Plaintiffs in the multimillion dollar damage case are the families of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, two Illinois State Black Panther Party leaders killed during a December 4, CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

A subpoena (left) ordering the FBI to release COINTELPRO conspiracy documents related to the December, 1969, assassination of FRED HAMPTON was upheld in Chicago federal court last week. Inset on subpoena is the bullet ridden wall above the bed where Fred was shot as he slept.

10622 VA 22901



## Editorial

### CUBA'S VANGUARD EXAMPLE

The Black Panther Party joins with the people of the world in applauding the revolutionary posture of open, militant solidarity adopted by the Republic of Cuba in support of the legitimate MPLA-led government of the People's Republic of Angola.

Under the glare of history's critical floodlights, the Cuban people — under the leadership of Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government — have arisen, steadfast with their African brothers and sisters, and demanded to be counted among those most resolutely opposed to the armed might of U.S. imperialism. The Cubans have set a vanguard example, and oppressed peoples throughout the world can draw strength from their reflected glory.

Certainly one of the dramatic and inspiring highlights of the historic First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba occurred when Premier Castro took the podium and proclaimed that U.S. imperialism could never make the Cuban people renounce "the principles of the Revolution" nor would they abandon the "revolutionary family" of humankind that has been so solidly forged.

"We are simply practicing a policy of principles," Premier Castro said. "When the imperialists ask us what are our interests, we will have to say: 'Look, read a manual on proletarian internationalism so that you may understand why we are helping Angola.'"

Even as Gerald Ford threatened a continuance of the vicious U.S. trade embargo against the illustrious island just 90 miles off U.S. shores, Premier Castro replied: "... What country do they think they are dealing with? The old Cuba? No! This is the new Cuba. . . We shall never desert our Puerto Rican brothers (and Angolan, as he specified later in the speech) even if there are no relations with the United States for a hundred years. . ." (See Comment, this page.)

Likewise, the Black Panther Party, guided by the philosophy of revolutionary intercommunalism, reiterates its revolutionary support and solidarity with the Republic of Cuba, the People's Republic of Angola, and all oppressed peoples throughout the world struggling for their freedom and liberation. Vencemos! Victory is Certain! □



### Letters to the Editor

#### Union Of North Americans Resident In Cuba Pledge Unconditional Support To M.P.L.A.

TO: THE MPLA OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

The proclamation, on November 11, 1975, of the independent and sovereign People's Republic of Angola, has been confirmed and reconfirmed since then: in the statements and actions of its vanguard MPLA, in the battles won by its armed forces and the militant defense of the Angolan people, in diplomatic recognition of the young republic by some 40 countries and the fighting solidarity of more than a few.

For Angola is at war, a war "to maintain the territorial integrity and unity of the country," as its President, Agostinho Neto, has said.

The myth of "civil war in Angola" has been exposed with each revelation of CIA funding to Holden Roberto's FNLA and South African financing of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA — while those creatures of imperialism claw at each other's throats and leave the real war to their bosses. With their puppets now stripped of their liberationist pretensions, imperialism is revealed in its naked brutality: artillery, mortars, tanks and guns made in the U.S. and other NATO countries turned on the Angolan people by South African and Zairean regular troops buttressed with U.S. veterans of Vietnam and Portuguese, Spanish, Belgian and German mercenaries.

Against this powerful, if motley crew, the valiant armed forces of the People's Republic of Angola fight, firmly backed by their people and with the material and moral support of the Soviet Union, Cuba, a number of African nations, as well as socialist and progressive countries and peoples on other continents. We North Americans resident in Cuba form a small part of this great worldwide wave of solidarity with the just cause of Angola.

We know that the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has been the one and only independence movement ever since it was founded in 1956; that it and it alone fought with arms for 14 long years — from 1961 to 1975 — against the fascist Portuguese army, against the splinter groups created and supported by world imperialism; and now against the combined forces of that world imperialism, aggressively determined to preserve at all costs their hegemony over the southern cone of Africa and its economic interests in Angola: Cabinda's oil — controlled mainly by U.S. Gulf; Luanda's diamonds, by the South African-based De Beers enterprise; Cassinga's iron, by West Germany's Krupp, copper, bauxite. . . and so on through a long list of minerals, agricultural products and related manufacturing and banking sectors — all conceded by the Portuguese occupiers to multinational enterprises with home offices in the United States, South Africa and Western Europe.

It is for this that imperialism fights and for this also that it is doomed to defeat. For Angola and its wealth belong to its people — to use in their interests, which means to wipe out the centuries of poverty and ignorance the enemy has bequeathed them: to bring to fulfillment the future already glimpsed in the schools, hospitals, collective work and democratic institutions established under the creative leadership of the MPLA.

South African and all other imperialist troops must withdraw — or be driven — from Angola.

We pledge our unconditional support to this great battle for the future of Angola, for the future of Africa.

Victory to the People's Republic of Angola, its vanguard MPLA, its fighting forces and its militant people.

Union of North Americans Resident in Cuba  
Havana, Cuba  
January 19, 1976

MORE LETTERS ON PAGE 25

### COMMENT

## Fidel Castro On Solidarity With People's Angola

In Part 1 of the following speech, Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, expresses the principles of militant solidarity which guides his country's foreign policy, particularly in regards to supporting the heroic struggles in Puerto Rico and the People's Republic of Angola. Premier Castro's stirring speech was delivered on December 22, 1975, at the closing session of the historic First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba and is reprinted from Granma newspaper.

### PART 1

While this Congress was being held, the President of the United States declared that, as a result of our aid to the sister people of Angola, any prospects or hopes of possibilities of improving relations between the United States and Cuba were — more or less — cancelled.

It is odd that the President of the United States, Mr. Ford, should threaten us with that. Before, when we did have relations, they cut them off; when there was a sugar quota, they cut it off; when there was trade between the United States and Cuba, they cut it off, but now they have nothing else to cut off, and now they cut off hopes. This could be called "the hope embargo" on the part of the President of the United States. He has actually embargoed that which no longer exists.

They were already indignant at the holding of the Conference of Solidarity with Puerto Rico, claiming that it seriously affected any possibility of improving relations. But, if we must renounce this country's dignity, renounce this country's principles in order to have relations with the United States, how can we possibly have relations with the United States?

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

### THE BLACK PANTHER

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## S.Q. 6 TRIAL

Testimony  
ConfirmsGuard Intimidation  
And Brutality

(San Rafael, Calif.) — Testimony presented here at the San Quentin 6 trial last week confirmed defense assertions of brutality and acts of intimidation which occurred when armed prison guards stormed into the Adjustment Center on August 21, 1971.

Called to the stand by defendant Hugo Pinell, Richard Nelson, a lieutenant in the prison's notorious Adjustment Center (AC) area, admitted to firing at least two bursts of machine gun fire in the AC on the afternoon of the 21st, one an overt move "to show them (the inmates) we meant business."

Nelson, 38, a short, squat man described as a "rather hostile" witness in one press report, was not scheduled to work on Saturday, August 21. He claimed he heard what sounded like a muffled gun shot coming from the prison that afternoon, changed into his uniform, and ran from his house — which is located on San Quentin grounds — to the prison. Once there, Nelson picked up a Thompson .45 machine gun and proceeded to the AC area, entering the first tier along with other guards who had rushed to the scene.

Prior testimony has revealed that Nelson, who was said to be irate and frenzied, basically assumed command in the Adjustment Center. Witnesses have told the court that Nelson placed his machine gun at the head of each prisoner as they filed out — stripped naked — of the AC into the adjoining courtyard, threatening to blow their heads off and warning then that they were all going to be killed.

Defense attorneys, including Charles Garry, who is representing Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain in these proceedings, have contended that this show of guard brutality and force initiated a process which led to the "selective prosecution" of the six Black and Brown defendants.

In his opening statement, Garry charged that similar, unmasked brutality within the Adjustment Center day after day, plus the conspiracy to assassinate Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson, sparked the August 21, 1971, incident. □

WATTS N.A.A.C.P. HEAD URGES  
COMPENSATION FOR B.P.P. MEMBERS  
SLAIN BY F.B.I.-PROVOKED VIOLENCE

(Los Angeles, Calif.) — The president of the Watts NAACP last Tuesday called for compensation for families of persons killed or injured by "the illegal activities of local and federal law enforcement agencies" in the Black community.

Speaking at a Press Club news conference here, Woodrow Redeaux strongly suggested that such compensation begin with the families of four Black Panther Party members whose murders by Ron Karenga's Southern California-based US organization are documented to be a direct result of an FBI COINTELPRO operation to disrupt and destroy the Black Panther Party.

Redeaux also charged that recent disclosures of the FBI campaign to instigate and promote violence within the Black community was "only the tip of the iceberg."

He demanded the creation of a special independent task force to fully investigate these "illegal activities" and to make a complete public disclosure, the *Los Angeles Times* reports.

Black Panther Party Southern California Chapter leaders Alprentice ("Bunchy") Carter and John Huggins, two of the Party members mentioned by Redeaux, were gunned down by US organization members while on the UCLA campus on January 17, 1969.



ALPRENTICE "Bunchy" CARTER (top left), JOHN HUGGINS (top right), SYLVESTER BELL (bottom left) and JOHN SAVAGE were all killed as a result of the FBI COINTELPRO operation against the Black Panther Party.

A recently released COINTELPRO document, dated December 2, 1968, just six weeks before the slayings, calls on FBI

agents to "fully capitalize on BPP and US differences" and instructs recipient offices "to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP." (See THE BLACK PANTHER, December 13, 1975.)

## PARTY MEMBERS

The other two Black Panther Party members referred to by Redeaux, John Savage and Sylvester Bell, were slain in separate incidents by the US organization in San Diego on May 23 and August 15, 1969, respectively.

The FBI has admitted that its San Diego agents gloated and laughed about the deaths of Savage and Bell, actually claiming credit for the never prosecuted murders.

In another recently released COINTELPRO document, dated September 18, 1969, and sent to late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the San Diego agents said that "a substantial amount of unrest" in the city's southeast Black community was "directly attributable" to FBI efforts.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

## Fallen Comrade

## CINDY SMALLWOOD

Died: February 7, 1973



Cindy Smallwood was a very beautiful and warm Black woman who lived a short but dedicated life. Cindy joined the Black Panther Party at the age of 17 after completing high school, first working with the Party's Intercommunal Youth Institute (now the Oakland Community School). Later she worked in the distribution and circulation department of THE BLACK PANTHER.

On February 4, 1973, while driving a passenger van from Richmond, California, to Oakland, Cindy ran into an embankment and was thrown out of the vehicle, critically injured. On February 7, she was pronounced dead at a Berkeley hospital.

Cindy Smallwood lives on in every copy of THE BLACK PANTHER distributed across this country, the paper for which she worked so hard and loved so much. Long Live the Spirit of Cindy Smallwood! Long Live the People's Struggle!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



# PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL CLINIC MODEL IN COMMUNITY HEALTH CARE

The current dispute between California doctors and the state government over malpractice insurance has once again brought to the forefront the continuing lack of adequate medical care not only in California but throughout the country.

The following is Part I in a series of articles on the People's Free Medical Clinic which is now in its fifth year of providing professional, quality health services free of charge to the community.

## PART I

(Berkeley, Calif.) - "To Deny Health Care Is To Deny The Right To Life."

The above is the motto of the People's Free Medical Clinic, located at 3236 Adeline Street here. The Clinic and its affiliates throughout the country function as model health institutions whose services are geared primarily to meet the needs of Black and other poor people who cannot afford to pay the high fees charged by most doctors in private practice.

The need for such a facility as the People's Free Medical Clinic is critical, as the Clinic's health coordinator, Henry Smith, explains. "Quality medical care is a right that all human beings have. It is not a privilege. But because American establishment medicine is more concerned with making profits than with helping people, millions of Americans are denied decent health care. Here at the Clinic, we provide medical care equally to all — regardless of their ethnic background or financial status," Henry noted.

The Clinic has been successful in recruiting medical personnel and nonprofessional people willing to volunteer their time and skills. However, as the word spreads about the Clinic throughout the community, it becomes apparent that its services need to be expanded in order to serve more people. Thus, there is a constant need for more staff.

There are presently 40 volunteers on the Clinic staff, including three doctors, other licensed personnel such as nurses and laboratory technicians, and lay people. Henry Smith, for example, is employed as a laboratory technician with the San Francisco General Hospital-based Prison Health Project at the San Bruno County Jail. "Smitty," as he is known by the staff and patients of the Clinic, works in medical

The quality, free preventative medical health care provided by the People's Free Medical Clinic has not been interrupted by current malpractice insurance crisis.



BPINS photo

screening and evaluations with the inmates at San Bruno. Although he is employed full-time with the Prison Health Project, Smitty finds time to coordinate the programs of the Clinic.

The volunteer doctors at the Clinic include two general practitioners and a pediatrician. Several other members of the staff are pre-medical students or those already in medical school who seek the practical application of their profession. Lay people come to the Clinic to learn medical skills. The staff is multiracial,

including Black, Chicano, Asian and White people.

In addition to the regularly scheduled hours for consultations between patients and doctors, the People's Free Medical Clinic operates on Out-Reach Program including screening in such areas as Sickle Cell Anemia, diabetes, tuberculosis, hypertension, and urinary tract infections. The Out-Reach Program and the other extensive health services provided by the Clinic will be examined in future articles in this series.

TO BE CONTINUED

Be Sure To Get Next Week's Issue Of THE BLACK PANTHER For Full Details Of The National Hard Times Conference Held Last Weekend In Chicago.



WILBUR HADDOCK, head of the United Black Workers of Mahwah, New Jersey, shown above at a San Francisco "Speak Out," was one of the principal speakers at last week's Hard Times Conference.

Don't Miss **ELAINE BROWN**  
On "Changes," Hosted By Anita Bryant  
KTVU — Channel 2

Sunday, February 15, 9:30 p.m.

Elaine Will Discuss The Use Of Black People As Human "Guinea Pigs" In Medical Experiments.

## THIS WEEK IN



## BLACK HISTORY

### Babies, Black History And The Bicentennial

"Make babies," some have said. "beautiful Black babies. Let's hope that one will be our 'messiah.'"

"No more babies," others replied, "enough's enough. We can't support them. What about their quality of life?"

Entering this Black History Month within America's Bicentennial, it's time to resolve certain somewhat silly arguments that have swirled about us during these 200 years of Black people's resistance to oppression, 200 years of struggle for freedom and liberation.

Since this country's birth in 1776, America has transformed from 13 small and relatively self-sufficient agricultural states along the Eastern seaboard into a vast, multi-limbed technological giant, an empire which feeds off the human and material wealth of the continents of the world.

Once in great demand as slave labor for the fertile plantation fields, in 1976 Black people now find ourselves as surplus on dying inner-city streets. Pawns of free enterprise, supply and demand, once they couldn't get enough of us. Now, 30 million strong, we are faced with genocide.

Yet, if our rich heritage of struggle and sacrifice in this land has taught us anything, if the lessons of Nat the Prophet, Harriet Tubman, Douglass, Du Bois, Robeson, King, Malcolm and Huey P. Newton are not forgotten, then let us realize that we don't need a "messiah," that support will come. We have each other — Black humankind.

Within this context, of where we've been and where we're at and where we're going, the question of having or not having babies becomes a decision no one can or should impose on us. It is, and always has been, an act of self-determination, a personal choice or preference made with full consciousness of our individual duties and our collective destiny.

The future, babies, victories and all is assured by our unity, our "soulful survival" if you will — our power as a people to achieve our full human rights.





Angolan woman in Luanda.

## House Votes

To Cut Off

U.S. Aid

To F.N.L.A.

And U.N.I.T.A.

(Washington, D.C.) — Trying to remain in the good graces of their constituencies, the House last week voted 323 to 99 to cut off U.S. aid to the two Western-backed factions fighting the legitimate, MPLA- (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) led government of Angola.

The cutoff was voted as an amendment to a \$112.3 billion defense appropriations bill. The White House had sought \$28 million for the "secret" funding of the Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), both CIA-supported groups that are near defeat by MPLA forces in Angola. (See article, page 17.)

The House action, which followed a 30-minute discussion, paralleled that of the Senate which in December voted 54 to 22 against aid for the FNLA and UNITA.

According to *The New York Times*, President Ford was not expected to veto the House bill — despite the defeat of the Angola amendment — since, in the words of a White House spokesperson, "It doesn't make sense to risk billions needed by defense for \$28 million for Angola."

The upcoming November elections played a major role in the

# ROY INNIS ANNOUNCES RECRUITMENT OF BLACK VETERANS TO FIGHT FOR C.I.A.-BACKED FORCES IN ANGOLA

(Lusaka, Zambia) - Flying out of southern Angola literally under the guns of the liberation forces, Roy Innis, executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), landed here last week to announce that he would "encourage" Black American veterans to fight for pro-Western UNITA against the legitimate MPLA-led government of the People's Republic of Angola.

At the hastily called press conference, Innis specified for the first time that the Black veterans of CORE's "Mercenaries for Angola" plan — condemned by the Black Panther Party and a host of other organizations — would fight with the CIA and South African-linked UNITA group.

The *Associated Press* reported last Thursday that Innis said CORE cannot legally recruit U.S. volunteers, but legally can sign up medical technicians to serve in Angola.

"If a combat veteran puts a medical badge on and fools me, if someone says to me he's going there to stick needles in arms and then he picks up a rifle, I can't help that," Innis is quoted as saying.

Both *Reuters* and *Internews* reported that the CORE executive director made his remarks shortly after fleeing UNITA - (Union for the Total Independence of



CORE Executive Director Roy Innis is now recruiting Black Vietnam veterans to fight alongside CIA-backed forces in Angola.

Angola) held territory in the south-central region in the face of advancing MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) troops.

According to one report, Innis' plane, flying out of the besieged,

pro-Western "capital" of Huambo, was fired upon by MPLA liberation forces. There was no word of any casualties.

In a previous statement issued last December, Innis had said that CORE's "noble and brotherly goals" were only to use Black American Vietnam veterans as a "peace keeping force."

During the period of 1961 to 1974, when the MPLA led the Angolan people's armed struggle for liberation, UNITA is documented as having openly collaborated with the Portuguese colonizers. Since November 11, 1975, when MPLA leader Agostinho Neto took over the reigns of the independent People's Republic of Angola, UNITA has locked arms with the racist Republic of South Africa and the U.S. CIA in an attempt to thwart the new government.

Meanwhile, more overt moves to recruit Black veterans were made last week with ads saying, "Veterans Wanted — medical and technical skills and willing to travel," running in the weekend editions of several newspapers.

Larry Mitchell, a 34-year-old Black Vietnam veteran from the Washington, D.C., area who placed the ads, refused to say who is financing the pro-Western mercenary expedition, but would not rule out the CIA. □



## B.P.P. Political Education Session Discusses Angola

(Oakland, Calif.) - "On Angola" was the topic of last Sunday's lively and well-attended Community Political Education session, led by Black Panther Party member MICHAEL FULTZ (center).

The community sessions are held every first and third Sunday of the month at the headquarters of the Black Panther Party, 8507 East 14th Street, East Oakland, at 2 p.m., and are open to all members of the community.

The next Community Political Education session will be held on Sunday, February 15.

BPINS photo



**"BLACK HISTORY WEEK UNDERSCORES GREAT FAILURES OF THIS NATION"**

# DYMALLY URGES BLACK PRESS TO FOCUS ON AMERICA'S PROBLEMS

(St. Thomas, Virgin Islands) — California Lt. Governor Mervyn Dymally told the National Newspaper Association Conference here recently that "the Black press has been leading the charge back to reality."

"Black newspapers need to become more investigative," said Dymally. "They must begin to do more in-depth analysis of the root problems of America."

Speaking before the three-day national convention of Black newsmen and publishers, Dymally blasted the recent comment by Federal Reserve Director Arthur Burns that unemployment is the result of overextended unemployment benefits and that they should be cut from 65 to 13 weeks.

## ABSURD CONCEPTS

"The Black press must attack these incredibly absurd concepts," said Dymally. "We must crusade against such obvious insults to the intelligence of this country. We must make America focus on the cold fact that unemployment is not caused by people who don't want to work, but by jobs that don't exist."

Dymally termed as "blatant racism" the comments by former

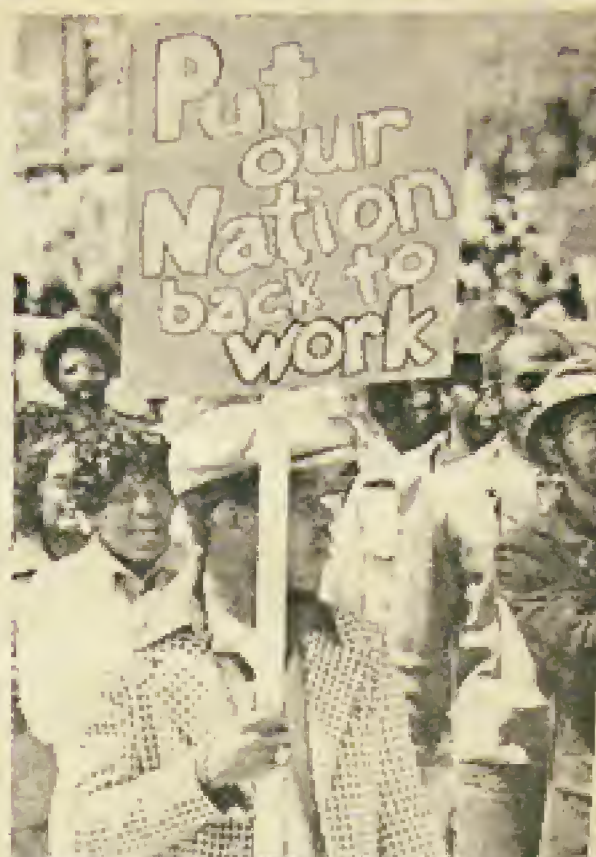
Treasury Secretary John Connally that "the unemployment rate is not so high when you subtract Blacks and young people whose rates tend to drag down the national rate."

## FAILURES

The Black lieutenant governor said that failures of the White media to portray to their readers the hopelessness and degradation of ghetto life could serve as a challenge to the Black newspaperman.

Dymally told the several hundred listeners, "I find it scandalous to find that the Congressional Black Caucus met recently to discuss the urgent problems facing this country and to propose solutions and yet no news medium covered this important happening. Are their ideas heard and debated in the press as are the ideas of the current Republican administration? The answer is no. This must change!"

In another statement, Dymally drew parallels between the upcoming Black History Week, February 8 - 14, and this country's Bicentennial celebration.

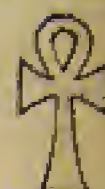


Lt. Governor Dymally urged the Black press to expose America's reality.

"Black History Week," Dymally said, "underscores the great failures of this nation. The Bicentennial celebration underscores its potential."

Speaking of Black people, Dymally went on to say, "No group is better qualified than us to know this nation's great potential. Unfortunately, no group is better qualified to know that our nation has a long way to go yet before this potential is fulfilled — not just for Blacks but for all Americans." □

## OUR HEALTH



### Federal Judge Blocks Ban Of Red Dye No. 2

(Washington, D.C.) - A federal judge here has postponed for 10 days a ban on the nation's most widely used dye in food, cosmetics and drugs, despite evidence that it is a cancer-causing agent.

The dye, Red No.2, was recently banned by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), but U.S. District Court Judge Aubrey E. Robinson issued a temporary restraining order and he scheduled a hearing for this week.

The judge ordered the delay on a motion which was filed by several multimillion dollar companies who are major manufacturers and users of the dye. However, FDA and Ralph Nader's Health Research Group are expected to intervene with court actions.

Red Dye No.2 has been allowed provisionally for 15 years while its safety was under study. The FDA has postponed a decision on the dye's safety 14 times since 1965 at the request of food and cosmetic industries, according to an October, 1975, report from the General Accounting Office (GAO).

Officials from the GAO said the postponements were based on promises of additional testing data from industry that were never forthcoming.

The FDA decision to ban the dye came two days after the release of a study that showed that feeding the dye to rats at a high dosage "results in a statistically significant increase in a variety of malignant neoplasms (tumors)."

If put into effect the ban will not affect products already on the shelf containing the dye since it was not considered by the FDA to be an "imminent hazard." However, its future use would be illegal.

In anticipation of a ban, some companies have already switched to other artificial dyes considered safe by the FDA. Red Dye No. 2 had been used to color a wide variety of food, drugs, and cosmetics that had a net worth of an estimated \$10 billion every year. In the past, users of the unsafe dye pushed for its consideration because it was not as expensive as others, thus producing more profits.

The Oakland Community Learning Center & The Experimental College Of Laney

## SPRING '76 FILM SERIES

Tuesday Nights - 7:00 P.M. ■ Free Admission

At The Oakland Community Learning Center ■ 6118 East 14th St., Oakland (415) 562-5262

### Featuring For The Month Of February:

FEB. 10 — BLACK HISTORY WEEK SPECIAL.  
HARRIET TUBMAN, TRIBUTE TO  
MALCOLM X, MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, FREE HUEY RALLY

FEB. 17 — GORDON'S WAR

FEB. 24 — PUTNEY SWOPE



### Coming Attractions:

MAR. 2 — THE HARDER THEY COME

APR. 27 — BURN

MAR. 9 — THE HISTORY BOOK

MAY 4 — THE MAN

MAR. 16 — PAPILLON

MAY 11 — NATIVE SON

MAR. 23 — COOLEY HIGH

MAY 18 — BLACK ORPHEUS

MAR. 30 — THE DUTCHMAN

MAY 25 — LUCIA

APR. 6 — THE GLASS HOUSE

JUNE 1 — MANDINGO

APR. 13 — UPTOWN SATURDAY NIGHT

JUNE 8 — CLAUDINE

APR. 20 — MALCOLM X

JUNE 15 — FIVE ON THE BLACK HAND SIDE



## "Until We're Free"

A powerful, yet tender and important new album by Elaine Brown. The songs on the album weave a beautiful tapestry of protest against the quality of life for Black Americans. Listeners will find themselves engulfed in a flow of emotion as Elaine's melodic voice works its magic. Once you have heard "Until We're Free", you will understand why Huey P. Newton says: "A consuming talent, a total dedication and a proven commitment are combined in Elaine Brown, making her the first, genuine People's Artist America has produced."

To purchase this album, send \$4.00 cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available at major record stores near you.

SONGS WRITTEN AND PERFORMED  
BY ELAINE BROWN  
ALBUM PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED  
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# V.E.P. REPORTS DRAMATIC ADVANCES BY BLACKS IN SOUTHERN POLITICS

## 478 Blacks Elected To Public Office In 1975

(Atlanta, Ga.) — Dramatic advancement of minority political representation in the South was evidenced by the off-year election of 478 Blacks to public office in 1975, according to a research survey by the nonpartisan Voter Education Project (VEP).

John Lewis, VEP executive director, indicated that the election victories of southern Blacks in 1975 continues a growth trend of the number of Blacks in public office over the last decade.

"Minority political progress has been difficult to achieve," says Lewis, "but our greatest setback has been the lack of the necessary dollars to finance non-partisan voter registration and organizing efforts. For the first time since Reconstruction, we have an opportunity to restore the power of the ballot to Blacks in America, more of whom live in the South than all other regions of the nation combined."

Among the highlights of minority political advances noted by VEP research director, Stanley Alexander, are:

- The election of four Blacks to the nine-member City Council of Montgomery, Alabama, on the 20th anniversary of the Montgomery bus boycott and the birth of the contemporary civil rights movement.

- Numerous elections of Blacks to local government bodies for the first time this century, including City Council seats of Albany and Americus, Georgia, two cities which were the focus of intense

civil rights and voting rights struggles in the 1960s.

- A total of 237 election victories of Blacks in 1975 were city council positions in eight southern states. Another 101 Black victories were recorded for county government posts in four states, 62 being from Louisiana and 21 from the Commonwealth of Virginia.

- Two hundred and forty of the total number of Blacks elected in 1975 will be holding public office for the first time.

"In many areas with majority Black electorates, a number of Black incumbents were defeated by newcomers," observed Alexander. This illustrates that Blacks are not simply content to have a Black person in public office, but are more concerned with performance and productivity in the

decision making process. The novelty of electing the first Blacks to public office may be declining as effectiveness becomes more of an issue. This reflects a growing sophistication on the part of the southern electorate."



Black election victories in 1975 were recorded in 10 of the 11 southern states, a partial list of which follows:

- Alabama — Twenty Black victories included 17 city council members, two mayors, and one city school board member. In the newly incorporated towns of McMullen and Forkland, Blacks constitute a majority on the city councils. Four Blacks were elected to the Montgomery City Council and two Blacks, one incumbent and the first Black woman, were elected to the Birmingham City Council.



Blacks line up to vote in Canton, Mississippi. Over 478 Blacks were elected to public office in the South during 1975.

—Johnny Spain: "... a penetrating probe for truth

**HUEY P. NEWTON · ERICKA HUGGINS**

**HUEY NEWTON  
ERICKA HUGGINS  
INSIGHTS  
& POEMS**

When HUEY P. NEWTON, co-founder and ideologist of the Black Panther Party, disappeared in August, 1974, he left behind his INSIGHTS which embody, as Ericka Huggins has said, "a sensitivity and a humanness that make this man, in his absence, a friend to all people." ERICKA HUGGINS' POEMS are the telling introspective record of her own life during the years since her husband, Jim Huggins, was assassinated in Los Angeles in 1969. Since then she has also co-edited the Black Panther newspaper and is director of the Intercultural Youth Institute, a model elementary school in Oakland.

INTRODUCTION BY ZENTATSU BAKER-ROSHI  
of the San Francisco Zen Center

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NBPA Convention hopes to strengthen solidarity of Black and oppressed people.

## National Black Political Assembly Nominates Julian Bond For President

(New York, N.Y.) — Leaders of the National Black Political Assembly (NBPA) formally announced last week their intentions to draft Georgia state senator Julian S. Bond as an independent candidate for President in 1976.

The NBPA has been conducting extensive preliminary organizing conferences for its Third Bi-Annual National Black Political Convention slated for Cincinnati, Ohio, this coming March 17-21.

According to an NBPA release, after months of "intensive discussion, debate and analysis" of the upcoming Presidential elections and its possibilities for Black and poor people, the NBPA chose Julian Bond as the available nominee best suited to head the alternative campaign envisioned by the group.

### LEADERS

Other Black leaders who were considered for the nomination were: Congressmen John Conyers of Detroit and Ronald Dellums of California; comedian and social activist Dick Gregory; and Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana.

The NBPA press release states, "Georgia state senator Julian Bond shall be the NBPA nominee for President of the United States as an independent in 1976. The nomination shall take the form of a draft which will bring together Black, Third World and White organizations and persons into a National Committee for People's Politics (NCP) which shall seek ballot status in 30 states."

Quoting their 1972 Gary, Indiana, Agenda, the NBPA states:

"While the times and the name

- Georgia — Thirty-eight victories included one state representative in a special election, thirty-four city council members, and three school board members. In Macon, five Blacks became the first to serve on the 15 member city council. In Albany, the first two Black officials were elected to the seven-member city council after winning a suit challenging the process of at-large elections.

### LOUISIANA

- Louisiana — Leading the southern states with 90 Black victories, the successful races included one state senate post with the incumbent re-elected, nine state house seats, 62 police jurors, eight constables, nine justices of the peace, and one parish (county) school board member.

- Mississippi — Eighty-eight victories included four state re-



# F.B.I. ORDERED TO YIELD FILES

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

1969, predawn police raid, and seven former Party members who survived the assault.

The defense includes the FBI, former Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan and his assistants, and William O'Neal, a paid FBI Black informer who infiltrated the Chicago Chapter of the Party and who is said to have set-up the police assault.

Regarding point #11 on the subpoena, various reports that O'Neal filed, Montgomery argued that the plaintiffs sought all FBI files containing O'Neal memorandums, whether they had been turned over to other law enforcement agencies or not.

Montgomery then startled the defense by announcing that the plaintiffs were charging that there were *two conspiracies*—one within the FBI and one between the FBI and local law enforcement agencies. Over defense objections, the Black attorney, who, in 1975, headed the prestigious Cook County Bar Association, forcibly read the original complaint to prove that two conspiracies were at issue.

Courtroom observers noted that the significance of Montgomery's astute distinction between the two conspiracies is that it will allow the plaintiffs to delve into the previously barred area of the FBI's COINTELPRO intention to "disrupt, destroy, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" the Black Panther Party and its top leadership.

As Montgomery's lengthy argument unfolded, federal attorneys for the defense were said to have been "going crazy" and the FBI agents "visibly upset." It is understood that the defense is preparing a motion to strike out the "second conspiracy," the one within the FBI.

Only about one-tenth of the documents subpoenaed last Wednesday were actually turned over however, and before the week's end, Judge Perry ordered



*The Black community of Chicago came out in mass to pay their respects at FRED HAMPTON's (right) funeral.*

that all the documents must be handed over to the plaintiffs' attorneys within 15 days.

Concerning point #9 of the subpoenaed materials, documents "setting forth that local law enforcement agencies were to be employed by the FBI to raid Black Panther Party offices and homes, wherein Panthers and police would be wounded and killed, and Panthers arrested," the FBI made out a sworn affidavit claiming that it did not have this information.

Also, many of the COINTELPRO documents that were turned over were so full of deletions of "sensitive subjects" as to make them incomprehensible.

In other courtroom motions, made out of the presence of the jury of four White women, one White man and one Black woman who will try the case, Judge Perry displayed what many have said to be his unhidden bias in favor of the law enforcement officials:

•The defense moved that the plaintiffs could not mention that the defense lawyers were government appointees and paid by the government. They lost this motion.

•The defense moved that the plaintiffs could not refer to the fact that Jack Clark, a man who



has been exposed as Mayor Daley's personal intelligence-gathering agent while officially on the payroll of a Judge Powers, had taken the Fifth Amendment in depositions conducted by the plaintiffs. The defense won this motion.

•The defense moved that the plaintiffs could not refer, in their opening statement, to the fact that Sergeant Groth refused to reveal the name of his alleged informant for the initial December 4 search warrant, saying that he would not so reveal the name to the judge in private, even if the judge ordered him to. The defense won this motion.

•The plaintiffs moved that some arrangement be made so that they could make or obtain copies of the daily record in the trial, arguing that it was a long trial and that they were at a disadvantage since the defense was receiving three copies each day, paid for by the Cook County government. The judge denied this motion. □



*Left, the blood soaked bed of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton, assassinated as he slept. Right, smiling Chicago police carry Fred's body from the scene of the pre-dawn raid.*



## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### Unnecessary Operations

(Washington, D.C.) - More than two million unnecessary operations were performed in the U.S. in 1974 alone, a House committee said in a recently released report. The most common unnecessary operations were tonsillectomies, hysterectomies and appendectomies, in that order. The subcommittee recommended that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) pay doctors' salaries instead of paying fees for services in Medicaid and Medicare cases in order to cut down on the temptation for doctors to perform unnecessary operations just for the money.

### Death Row Protest

(Raleigh, N.C.) - Ninety-nine prisoners on Death Row in North Carolina's Central Prison staged a one-day fast last month to protest the death penalty. North Carolina has 104 people facing death sentences, nearly one-third of the total nationwide, close to 67 per cent of these are Blacks or Native Americans.

### Veto Override

(Washington, D.C.) - Both the House and the Senate voted last week 310 to 113 to override the President's veto of a \$45 billion appropriation for health, welfare and manpower programs. The measure will fund the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) and the Department of Labor for the 15-month period that started last July 1.

### Black Alumni Meet

(Daytona Beach, Fla.) - Some 800 alumni of United Negro College Fund (UNCF) schools will be meeting here February 5 to 7 for the 30th Annual Conference of UNCF's National Alumni Council. The alumni will be conducting workshops, meeting and social affairs in an effort to find solutions to the pressing issues facing Black colleges in 1976 and the years ahead.



# BOARD OF CORRECTION CALLS FOR TEAR GAS MORATORIUM IN NEW YORK JAILS



Attica inmates show unity during 1971 rebellion.

## Judge Blocks Prosecution Stall Attempt In Attica Trials

(Buffalo, N.Y.) - The Attica prosecution's attempted 10-week stall was thwarted last week when a New York state supreme court justice here denied a request to delay the trial of 10 former Attica inmates charged with kidnapping guards during the 1971 prison rebellion.

The excuse for the delay in the four and one-half year case was the relatively new appointment of a new state prosecutor, Alfred T. Scotti.

Justice Frank R. Bayger cleared the air when he said he did not see "the slightest justification" for the delay. "Justice delayed is justice denied," he reminded the tardy prosecution, *The New York Times* reports.

The past "railroad" tactics the prosecution has been accused of by various Attica defense groups were virtually confirmed when Scotti filed an application with the judge seeking to dismiss four of the remaining eight indictments due to be prosecuted.

Dismissal of prosecution was requested in three cases on the grounds that the state could not prove "beyond a reasonable doubt" the guilt of all those accused.

A fourth dismissal was requested "because we have concluded that the state has failed to provide the accused his Constitutional right to a speedy trial," the state prosecutor's office confessed.

In denying the application for a delay in the trial, Justice Bayger agreed with the appeals of the 10 remaining defendants.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

(New York, N.Y.) - The New York City Board of Correction has recommended a moratorium on the use of tear gas in confined spaces in jails here following findings that tear gas overdoses were responsible for the deaths of two prison inmates and a man resisting arrest last year.

Despite this recommendation, Commissioner of Corrections Benjamin J. Malcolm said that he was convinced that tear gas was the "most humane" tool for dealing with extremely disorderly prisoners and that he felt a moratorium was not appropriate, *The New York Times* reports.

In its report, the Board of Corrections estimated that one prisoner, who died at Queens House of Detention last June — the second prison inmate was killed at the Greenhaven Correctional Facility in Dutchess County — had been subjected to nine times the predicted dosage. The report also noted that correction officers had acted within current city guidelines in their use of the gas.

### CAUSE OF DEATH

The Commission said that the cause of death for the two prison inmates had been "chemical pneumonia" resulting from tear gas.

State Correction officials said the cause of death in the third case, of a man resisting police arrest, had strangely not been determined, even though it occurred last April.



Inmate flashes victory sign (left) during 1970 Queens House of Detention rebellion while Commissioner BENJAMIN J. MALCOLM inspects the Manhattan "Tombs" after it was closed by inmate protests and court order. Malcolm recently opposed a recommended moratorium on use of tear gas in New York jails.



However, Peter Tufo, chairman of the Board of Correction, asserted that "but for the tear gas" the man would not have died.

At the present time, Commissioner Malcolm, who is Black, is repudiating the lethal potential of tear gas in an obvious attempt to justify its continued use.

His present stance however is opposite to a departmental report he had issued earlier in which he said one reason for his not ordering an assault to break up the successful Riker's Island Home of Detention rebellion in December was "the possibility of fatalities from tear gas." (See *THE BLACK PANTHER*, December 13 and 27, 1975).

Meanwhile, the New York State Commission of Correction has described as "inexcusable" the inaction and neglect by prison guards at the Clinton State Correctional Facility in Dannemora for allowing an inmate to hang himself moments after an unsuccessful suicide attempt.

Stating that their role was to "cure conditions, not condemn people," Commission Chairman Herman Schmurtz announced last week that no disciplinary action would be taken against the guards.

He added, however, that a number of "preventive policies" would be recommended to the state Department of Correctional Services. □

## Seattle B.P.P. Sponsors Free Busing To Prisons Program



(Seattle, Wash.) — The Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party operates a Free Busing To Prisons Program that is designed to help strengthen family and community ties with inmates of Washington state's prisons.

Due to family situations and difficulties at home, it is not always possible for relatives, friends and spouses to find transportation to visit their loved ones. To assist both families and inmates, the Seattle Chapter sponsors a Free Busing To Prisons Program.

The schedule is as follows:

- Monroe Reformatory (every Monday). Departs at 5:30 p.m., returns at 9:00 p.m.
- Shelton Correctional Center (second and fourth Sundays). Departs at 9:00 a.m., returns at 5:00 p.m.
- Purdy Women's Correction Center (first and third Sundays). Departs at 11:00 a.m., returns at 5:00 p.m.

Interested persons should call (206) 322-1038 for further information or to secure seating arrangements.

BPINS photo



# 5,000 TRIBUTE PAUL ROBESON AT N.Y. FUNERAL "CELEBRATION"

(New York, N.Y.) - More than 5,000 people came out Thursday evening to pay tribute to the life and indomitable spirit of Paul Robeson — described as the most versatile and accomplished Black freedom fighter of the 20th century — who died on January 23 at the age of 77.

Stressing the "themes of strength and struggle," according to *New York Times* reporter Charlayne Hunter, the funeral "celebration" was held appropriately at the Mother A.M.E. Zion Church in Harlem. Founded in 1786 and one of the oldest Black churches in America, the chapel here often provided Robeson a platform for his performances and speeches when, because of his outspoken political views, he was denied elsewhere.

Held in the evening so working people could attend, the modest service included a moving eulogy by Paul Robeson, Jr., who spoke of his father as a man he loved as "a friend and as a great gentle warrior with whom I worked and fought side by side."

## NO REGRETS

"He never regretted the stands he took," Robeson, Jr., remarked, "because almost 40 years ago, in 1937, he made his basic choice. He said then: 'The artist must elect to fight for freedom or slavery. I have made my choice. I had no alternative.'"

"He knew the price he would have to pay and he paid it, unbowed and unflinching. He knew that he might have to give his life, so he was not surprised that he lost his professional career."

"He was often called a communist, but he always considered that name to be an honorable one."

Born in Princeton, New Jersey, on April 9, 1898, Paul Robeson was the youngest child of Rev. W.D. Robeson, a North Carolina plantation slave until he ran away in 1860. Robeson once summed up his monumental accomplishments by writing, "As I went out into life, one thing loomed above all else: I was my father's son, a Negro in America. That was the challenge."

## On The Block

What Does Celebrating Black History Week Mean To You?

ASKED AT FOOTHILL SQUARE

Kelly Moore  
2325 88th Ave.



*It means a lot to me. I think it's about time that Blacks should get together and have a celebration of their own.*

*I haven't thought about it. I don't know anything about Black history. I leave that up to my kids. They come home and tell me about Martin Luther King and somebody else they've learned about. When I was young they didn't teach you about Black people.*

Carol Harris  
11th Ave.  
Keypunch Operator



*It means to me that when I was going to school they didn't have Black History Week or either I didn't know about it or was aware of it. And with the things that I see Black people have done I'm beginning to learn more about my people. It's about time we begin to get recognized as human beings.*

*I think that Black people have contributed very much to the making of America. Even though a lot of it hasn't been printed, we were here working and I think we contributed very much.*

Michael Walker  
7318 Lockwood  
Student- Castlemont



*I figure we should celebrate because the Black man isn't free yet. I feel that if Black people want to celebrate let them celebrate, because the White man celebrates what the White man thinks is right. Let the Black man celebrate his own thing.*

*Well, I think Black people should celebrate their own thing. The White man celebrates on his day so the Black man should celebrate on his day.*

Betty Crear  
2549 9th Ave.  
Student



*Because it is something to be proud of. We should be proud of being Black.*

Sheila Jenkins  
2325 88th Ave.#B  
Waitress



Verta Mae Pickerson  
2301 Warner Ave.  
Postal Clerk



Lester Calhoun  
2508 Reed Ave.  
Truck Driver



BPINS photos

Responding to that challenge, Robeson began his unprecedented odyssey to greatness in 1915, when he became the third Black to attend then private Rutgers University.

By the time he graduated in 1919, the 6-foot, 3-inch, 250-pound "Robeson of Rutgers" had won a dozen varsity letters in baseball, track, basketball and football, winning All-American honors in the latter sport as "the greatest defense end that ever trod the gridiron." His academic achievements included a Phi Beta Kappa key as a junior and election to Cap and Skull, the honor

society, as a senior.

Moving on, Robeson graduated from Columbia Law School in 1921. He never practiced law, however, because the same year he met and married Eslanda Goode, a brilliant chemistry student, who directed his career toward the theater.

After several small roles, Robeson joined the Provincetown Players, a Greenwich Village group that included the famous playwright Eugene O'Neill.

It was in O'Neill's *All God's Chillun Got Wings* that the majestic stage presence of Robeson was first realized. His

triumph in O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones*, specially revived for him, made one drama critic respond, "I felt at the time I had just crossed the path of someone touched by destiny."

Due to the strict barriers of his time, Robeson lived mostly in Europe, where he not only repeated his brilliant *The Emperor Jones*, but also starred in *Show Boat* — in which his rich baritone-bass rendition of "Ol' Man River" became his lasting trademark — and a spectacular 1930 London performance as the lead in Shakespeare's *Othello*.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22





Warrantless arrests are now legal in the U.S.

## LIMITS POLICE BRUTALITY CASES

# Supreme Court Rules In Favor Of Warrantless Arrests

(Washington, D.C.) - Over the harsh dissent of its two most progressive members, the Supreme Court ruled last week that the Constitution does not require law enforcement officials to obtain warrants before they make arrests in public places, even when there is adequate opportunity to do so.

According to the new repressive interpretation of the high court, all the Constitution requires is that the official has "probable cause" or good reason to believe that the person being arrested committed a felony.

The dissenters in the 6 to 2 ruling, Judges Thurgood Marshall — the Court's only Black member and the author of the dissent — and William J. Brennan, Jr., contended that "by granting police broad powers to make warrantless arrests, the Court today sharply reverses the course of modern decisions construing the warrant clause of the Fourth Amendment," *The New York Times* reported.

Observers point out that this decision will be particularly harmful to Black and other poor people who are most often the victims of indiscriminant arrests.

### COMPLAINTS

In another decision, the Court voted 5 to 3 that complaints of police brutality cannot be filed against the mayor or high-ranking police officials unless they have been directly and personally responsible for the brutality by individual policemen. the decision also severely limits the ability of federal courts to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

# PINE RIDGE ELECTIONS DEFEAT WILSON "GOON SQUAD" REGIME

(Pine Ridge, S.D.) - The "strongman" president of the Oglala Sioux Indian tribe, known for his "goon squad," was defeated last week in a tribal election by a career administrator who is said to be more sensitive to the needs of poor and less well-to-do residents of Pine Ridge Reservation.

Richard Wilson was defeated by the margin of 1,610 votes to 1,079 by Albert Trimble, a "moderate" according to *The New York Times*, who was supported by the progressive American Indian Movement (AIM). For 16 months after the 1973 Wounded Knee takeover, Trimble served as superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

While serving in this post, Trimble was in constant conflict with Wilson in his (Trimble's) efforts to provide for the poorer, full-blooded Native Americans who live on the edges of the Reservation. Wilson charged that Trimble was too friendly to AIM and had him removed as superintendent.



Defeated Oglala Sioux president RICHARD WILSON's "goon squad" plus lawlessness by the FBI was responsible for the deaths of several Native Americans.



In last week's election Trimble won in nearly every district on the Pine Ridge Reservation. He declared that his first order of

business would be to "diminish fear and anxiety by getting rid of the (Wilson's) goon squad."

For the first time in Pine Ridge history, federal monitors were on hand to watch the election. Two years ago, when Wilson narrowly defeated AIM and Wounded Knee leader Russell Means, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights described the election as being "permeated with fraud."

The new Oglala Sioux president also set up a top priority on regular tribal meetings to work on "solutions to the problems of land use, housing and law enforcement." During the election campaign and previously, Trimble and his supporters had accused Wilson of stalling government assistance programs as well as misappropriating tribal funds.

### REPRESSION

Since the symbolic 71-day Wounded Knee takeover in 1973 — and particularly since the slaying of two FBI agents on the Reservation last June — "law enforcement" has taken the form of severe repression and terror tactics. The number of FBI agents on Pine Ridge has quadrupled to over 200 since last year. Many residents of the Reservation felt Wilson used these agents and his personal "goon squad" to intimidate and harass his enemies.

A memo prepared in July, 1975, by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission reported that the FBI had been "conducting a fullscale military operation" on the Pine Ridge Reservation. □

# 1976 Can Be Year Of Victory For Farm Workers



## THE UNITED FARM WORKERS ARE WINNING THE ELECTIONS IN CALIFORNIA

Since October 1975, the UFW has won five elections for every one election won by the Teamsters. The margin is growing everyday. Elections are only the first step. Farm workers must win contracts in order to have a union. The boycott will persuade growers to sign strong contracts. The elections predict this.

New contracts will mean: social service centers; medical clinics; pension plans; healthier working conditions; higher standard of living.

But it can only happen with your help. We need you on the Los Angeles Boycott staff. Join us on the front lines of the battle and help actualize farm workers' dreams.

### Contact:

Vicky Estrella  
United Farm Workers of America  
1434 W. Olympic Blvd.  
Los Angeles, CA. 90015  
(213) 386-8130 or 381-1136



# ...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting New Novel Examines Lives Of  
Black Americans In Egypt

Fawzy, an Egyptian and close friend of the Black American journalist, Bob Jones, and soon-to-be friend of the embittered Black poet Suliman Ibn Rashid, is featured in this portion of ...And Bid Him Sing by BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief David G. Du Bois.

The novel describes many of the true-to-life events that took place in Cairo, Egypt, at the time of the 1967 Middle East war.

## PART 17

Fawzy was now on his way to the address Suliman had given him yesterday. He had wanted to wait and go with Suliman then. But he'd become fatigued at straining to understand Bob and Suliman's conversation in English and, easily bored, had left after they'd finished the three cigarettes. All morning at work his thoughts had kept coming back to Suliman. He'd liked his directness and sensed a sensuality comparable to his own.

The fact that Suliman was a Moslem fascinated and puzzled him. He had followed and admired the career of Mohammed Ali Clay. But there had been things about Clay and the Black Muslims he'd not understood. In Suliman he thought he might find some of the answers.

What puzzled him even more for the moment had been the address Suliman had given him. This district of Cairo was notorious for its concentration of pimps, prostitutes, hashish dealers, petty hustlers and small-time entertainers. Fawzy could not imagine a foreigner especially an American, living in the area. He was sure Suliman had made a mistake somehow in the address. He was on his way now to check.

He turned off the main street and bounded down a wide, worn, broken stone staircase that led into a narrow dirt lane lined with open-front shops occupying the ground floor of dilapidated two- and three-story buildings. At the end of the lane he stopped at a carpentry shop on the right, in front of which three ten- or eleven-year-old boys were busy sanding imitation frames for French period chairs that would adorn some bride's sitting room in a few days' time.

"Where's the owner of the shop?" he asked them.

"Inside," one said, pointing a sawdust-covered hand that clutched a black scrap of sandpaper.

Busy with a plane on the fourth chair of the set, the owner looked up at the sound of the boy's voice, gave Fawzy a head-to-toe look, taking in at a glance his prospects as a potential customer, and said: "Salaam we alaikum. Edfuddle."

Fawzy replied to the greeting and asked from where he stood: "Where is number 14, Ard el Nezimi?"

"Around to the right; the only six-story building in the lane."

"Does a foreigner live there, a Black American?"

"Yes, Eustez Suliman," the

man said enthusiastically. "But he's not there now. Went out at around noon. Should be coming back about now." Then with a note of caution in his voice, the carpenter asked: "Any service?"

Eager not to be mistaken for a police agent Fawzy hastened to reply: "He's a friend. Asked me to come around today."

Relaxing somewhat, but still on guard, the carpenter volunteered: "He's a good man. Everybody knows him; a generous and good man. Very unfortunate, though. What is that dirty business in America about the Blacks? By the Prophet, I cannot understand. Look at what they've done to Mohammed Ali Clay. Is it because he's Moslem? Surely it's not just because he's colored?"

Fawzy considered himself something of an expert on the subject. He had long ago asked Bob the same questions and they had talked a lot about it. But yesterday's encounter with Suliman had raised new questions in his mind which all the talk with Bob had not answered.

"The two. Black Americans have always been treated bad in America. That's what they're fighting against. But Whites refuse to help them. Since these Whites are Christians, some Blacks become Moslems. It's a way to say 'your mother's cunt' to Whites. Then the Whites get madder because these Blacks become Moslems and they try every way they can to make the lives of the Blacks more miserable."

"But Eustez Suliman says he's not an American. Says he's African. Gets very angry when anybody calls him an American. He says we're all Africans, but don't know it. He gets very upset when we try to talk about it."

At this point Fawzy noticed that the carpenter was a Black man, of Sudanese parents, he decided, but surely born and raised in Egypt. His purely Egyptian, even Cairene, speech made this clear. "What is your village?" Fawzy asked abruptly.

"I'm from Cairo, born here. My father was Sudanese."

Aerial view of Cairo train station, street car terminal and the Shari Ramses.



...AND BID HIM SING

An exciting novel of Black Americans living in Egypt in the 1960s

By BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service Editor-in-Chief DAVID G. DU BOIS

David G. Du Bois' first novel makes a new space on the slim shelf labelled Black expatriate fiction... this frighteningly accurate characterization of Ugly Afro-Americans in Africa is a sobering reminder of the special cultural baggage and blinders we carry home. In this case home is Cairo, Egypt... In And Bid Him Sing, David Du Bois has given us a picture of our sixties through the eyes of another Black culture and understanding.

"Those of us who are planning to visit or live in Africa should see And Bid Him Sing as a kind of guide to bad manners abroad. And we who are ready to nostalgize the sixties would do well to read and recognize some parts of all of ourselves who grew so quickly and changed our race before we could change our minds."

Francille Rusan Wilson  
The Black Scholar

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"Ahlan wa sahan, ahlan, ahlan (welcome, welcome)," reacting instinctively to a first-generation Egyptian like the centuries-old Delta Egyptian he was. Fawzy at the same time established his own credentials. "I'm from Tanta, the village of Birket el Seba. Ahlan, ahlan."

"Ahlanbek, Ya Eustez (Welcome to you, sir)," the carpenter replied. "You will have something cold to drink." Without waiting for Fawzy's reply, he called to one of the youngsters outside: "Go fetch a cold drink, a Spathis!"

"Thank you, no," Fawzy said, turning to go. "Malesh. Thank you very much. I must go. Suliman is expecting me. And to the youngster who had risen from his bench and stood expectantly waiting for instructions: "Sit down and see to your work. I am going."

TO BE CONTINUED



# REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

## "Loving"

Brother Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, continues to explain his contradiction with bourgeois marriage in this portion of "Loving" from Revolutionary Suicide. We shall see how one particular experience of Huey's brought this inner conflict to the forefront.

### PART 36

There was conflict, however, because, while I was exploiting women, I was also fighting some internal values that would not let me alone. Perhaps these arose from the Christian principles that had been instilled in me from birth, perhaps from traditional mores.

Still more likely, the conflict arose out of my desire not to treat another human being as an

object. The fact that I found it necessary to explain to women that they were at a disadvantage in their relationship with me indicated that I needed some kind of defense mechanism against the guilt I felt. Still, women made my freedom possible by sacrificing their traditional ideas of husband and family.

While I loved many women, only twice did I feel an impulse to marry. Even then, after serious consideration, I could not go through with it. Every time I felt close to a woman, I knew it was time for the relationship to end. No matter how deeply I felt, I could not share her goals if they led to a compromise with society.

For a time I tried the pimping life, but this caused altogether too much inner turmoil. Whenever I pimped a Black sister, my mind would be filled with flashes of the slave experience — the racist dogs raping Black women.

### CONSCIENCE

I began to feel that if my conscience would not allow me to pimp Black women, perhaps I should pimp White women — the "enemy." But when I "turned out" a White woman and found there was still a crisis of conscience, I realized that I could never pimp for a living.

With Black women the feeling was shame, because I was selling my sister's body. With White women the feeling was not shame but guilt, because I was now in the role of the oppressor. I had a "weakness" for women. Therefore, I could never be harsh with them; I always identified with them and fell in love. I flirted with pimping for only about nine months.

It was during this period that I met Dolores. She and I were together for five years, until I went to jail after the Odell Lee case. Slowly, imperceptibly, I fell more deeply in love with her than I ever had before. She had certain qualities that set her apart from all the others; she was special, unique. Dolores was a beautiful Afro-Filipino free-spirit child-woman, who lived with a passionate intensity.

Life with her was spontaneous, unpredictable, and filled with surprises, for she had the unself-consciousness of an impulsive and mischievous child. Sometimes, if I was reading or absorbed, she would steal up



HUEY P. NEWTON greeting visitor at 1974 Book Party at the Oakland Community Learning Center.

behind me and jump on my back. She loved fighting games and played aggressively; often Melvin and I had to retreat from a barrage of small stones that came flying at us, accompanied by triumphant laughter and taunts.

Yet there was a deeper, more complex side to her nature, for she was a creature of great contrasts. Dolores had an unusual gift for language and a sensitivity to the nuances and subtleties of words. She composed small poems that to me seemed remarkable. They revealed an awareness of the tenuousness of all human involvements, and the sense of despair that hovers constantly at the lover's threshold of consciousness. Here is one she wrote for me:

*"The two of us are multitude;  
Without you I am dead.  
I'd rather not be  
Than to be deceived  
By the one who keeps me alive."*

In our relationship there was an intense contradiction. I could live with her but not in the context of conventional family life. During our five years together we broke up from time to time, but never for more than three months; some intense need always drove us back to each other. In spite of her childlike qualities, Dolores was mature in many ways. She was a hard worker and willing to support us; she really understood and accepted my problem.

### CONFLICT

I was in conflict, wanting to do the things that are expected of a man in our society, even trying a couple of times without success. I worked on a construction job once and at a cannery for a couple of seasons, but I could not deal with work on a permanent basis. Often I considered marrying Dolores, but to do so meant accepting the conditions necessary to marriage in an oppressive

situation.

If two people are together as a unit, rather than in some haphazard way, a certain amount of security must exist. In the event of children they must sacrifice their time to have that security. I was afraid of that.

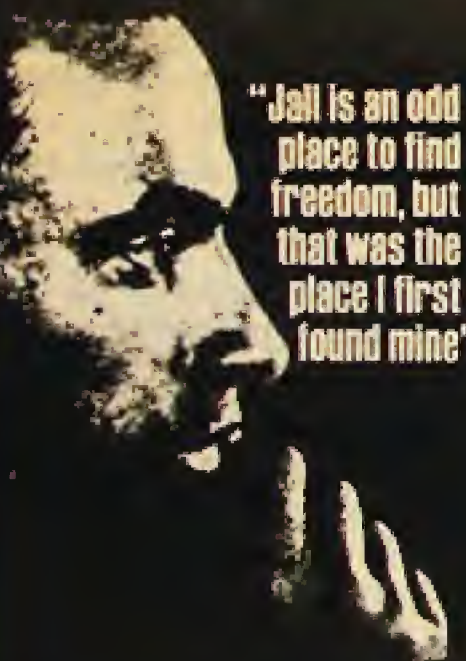
Many of my contemporaries were getting married in the hope of securing a good job and raising a family. But their marriages soon broke up because it cost so much to live and their jobs were so treacherously menial that all their time was spent grubbing for basic necessities. Their dreams were crushed by the realities of their lives. When I saw myself heading in that direction, I balked. By rejecting marriage and a family I held on to my "freedom," but I lost the intimacy and companionship of a woman — an experience that is probably as great as, perhaps greater, than the freedom I wanted.

My inability to make a total commitment led Dolores to disaster. Our years together, and our closeness, had created a deep dependence in her, although I tried to maintain my own freedom in various ways. One of these was to see other women. One night I brought another woman to my parents' home; while we were there, Dolores unexpectedly came over. The other woman and I went out, leaving Dolores there.

Finally, about two in the morning, I left my companion and returned to our apartment. Dolores was gone. After some frantic calls, I made one to my cousin, who lived nearby. She told me Dolores had taken forty sleeping pills. I rushed over and found Dolores unconscious. An ambulance came and took her to the hospital. No one knew if help had arrived in time. I rushed to the hospital. She was alive.

TO BE CONTINUED

## REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



"Jail is an odd place to find freedom, but that was the place I first found mine"

Huey P. Newton

With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story. Here is the dynamic account of the making of a revolutionary. Boyhood amid a deeply religious and loving family. Adolescence as thief, hustler, ghetto-survivor. Murder trial for the death of a policeman—a cause celebre that inspired the militant cry "Free Huey." Conviction. Imprisonment. And final exoneration. Huey P. Newton's autobiography "in a most moving sense is a testament to the black American's pain and dilemma in the 1970s." —Publishers Weekly

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Harcourt Brace Jovanovich



**"We Can Do Fantastic Things Together"****ELAINE BROWN ADDRESSES CHICAGO CITY-WIDE TENANTS CONFERENCE**

*Highlighting the City-Wide Tenants Conference held recently in Chicago, Ms. Elaine Brown, chairperson and leading member of the Black Panther Party, drew upon her successful organizing experiences in Oakland, California, to provide an informal, yet knowledgeable and enlightening keynote address. Excerpts from Ms. Brown's call for united action follow.*

"Thank you very much for allowing me to come here and share with you some information that I think may be useful to the concrete things that you want to do here in Chicago.

"I have somewhat of a success story to relate to you. Of course, success can only be measured by the fact that we ultimately achieve what we want, and housing isn't all that we want, obviously. We want everything because it all belongs to us — we want control of this entire country. We'll start with housing and food and so forth, but we'd like to move along into controlling the land and ultimately controlling the economy and all the national industries.

"But right now, we're talking about housing. We're talking about how we're going

to survive in this sub-zero weather in Chicago. (In Oakland, of course, the weather is kind to the poor. We don't have to suffer as much from the cold as the brothers and sisters here in Chicago.) I would like to tell you some of the things we were able to do in Oakland and perhaps you could use these things here in the city of Chicago in the tenant unions that you will form and that you are forming right now. They may be helpful to you.

"We never dreamed realistically that we were going to accomplish this. It was an accident. You know how they always get you on a technicality, like a rent receipt: 'Oh, you don't have your rent receipt and you don't have this and you happen to live on this border line so you don't fall into this category,' and all those various things. Well, we were able to get the city of Oakland on a technicality and it was very interesting.

"What happened was that the city of Oakland wanted to develop its so-called urban renewal program and whether it's in Oakland, Chicago, San Francisco, New York, Philadelphia, or Boston, wherever, it's basically the same set-up. Most of us came to the northern cities from the South, looking for work during

the war. When the war was over, we were out of jobs. We occupied the centers of industry. They needed us at one time. They don't need us anymore, and they would like for us to go away. But here we are.

"So, they've run to the suburbs. The middle-income people and the upper middle-income people and the rich are leaving the cities with poor people in them. Nevertheless, they want to hold onto the cities because they have everything locked into the cities. In Oakland, the situation is slightly different from here in Chicago because there it's very hard for them to imagine how they're going to get around dealing with a city that has a port. They can't move the Port of Oakland so they want the city. But they do not want us in it. You can see what I'm saying. They would like the resources, but they would not like to have us.

"In Oakland, we found that there's something called the Federal Housing Act of (I believe) 1949. This Housing Act says that if any city uses federal funds to initiate an urban renewal project that it must comply with certain guidelines.

"The point is that the city of Oakland applied for a \$10 million subsidy from the

**"10-Point Tenant's Survival Program"****Draft Proposal Adopted By Chicago Conference**

*The commitment to build a vital and a new grassroots movement to combat the housing crisis in Chicago was made by over 500 community and public housing leaders and residents at the City-Wide Tenants Conference held in Chicago at Malcolm X College on January 16 and 17. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.) Among the major actions taken by the Conference was the drafting of a proposed "10 Point Tenant's Survival Program" which states the Conference's primary demands and beliefs on the issue of public housing in Chicago. A finalized program will be developed in July on the basis of discussions with tenant unions throughout the city. In August, a City-Wide Convention is tentatively scheduled to launch an action campaign.*

*The following is the text of the proposed "10 Point Tenant's Survival Program," a model program for all those concerned with public housing in America to draw upon.*

**"1. WE WANT A FULL RENT SUBSIDY FOR ALL TENANTS ELIGIBLE UNDER THE SECTION 8 OF THE 1974 HOUSING & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACT.**

"We believe the government has an obligation to provide decent housing for everyone and that it has made the promise to do so in the 1974 Housing & Community Development Act. Section 8 of this Act provides that rent subsidies be given to millions of low and moderate-income tenants so that they would not pay more than 25% (¼) of their income for rent. In Chicago, the city admits that 905,000 tenants are eligible but

funds are allocated for only 545 tenants. We believe subsidies should be provided for all those eligible and that funds can be taken from the massive and unnecessary national defense budget.

**"2. WE WANT A MORATORIUM ON THE CITY OF CHICAGO'S SALE OF PUBLIC HOUSING OR OTHER TACTICS OF VACATING PUBLIC HOUSING TENANTS WITHOUT THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN EQUAL NUMBER OF UNITS OF QUALITY, NEW PUBLIC HOUSING.**

"We believe the city has an obligation to maintain the current public housing in good condition until they provide quality public housing for tenants to relocate in. This is not the current policy of the city which has already sold some sections of public housing to private developers and has plans to sell more.

**MORATORIUM**

**"3. WE WANT A MORATORIUM ON CITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS USING FEDERAL MONIES UNTIL A 6% VACANCY RATE IN LOW AND MODERATE-INCOME HOUSING IS ACHIEVED. . .**

"We believe that plans like the Chicago 21 Plan are eliminating thousands of units of low-income housing and using federal monies to do it. But it has been the policy of the federal government in the past to withhold federal money to local projects which displaced tenants where there has been less than 6% vacancy rate until replacement housing was built. There is currently only a 3% vacancy rate in the city of Chicago.

**"4. WE WANT A MINIMUM OF 30,000 UNITS OF SENIOR HOUSING BUILT IMMEDIATELY.**

"We believe that the thousands of senior citizens now on CHA waiting lists should receive first priority and be given the right to live in decent, quality housing, with full services that they have earned through their lives.

**"5. WE WANT A MORATORIUM ON INCREASES IN COSTS TO TENANTS IN PUBLIC HOUSING WITHOUT A CORRESPONDING INCREASE IN PUBLIC AID AND SOCIAL SECURITY.**

"We believe that because many of the tenants in public housing are on fixed incomes, the increase in costs to tenants provided for in the new lease are inhuman and resulting in slow murder.

**"6. WE WANT TENANT'S CONTROL OF LEASING, MANAGEMENT, MODERNIZATION, EMPLOYMENT AND SECURITY PROCEDURES IN PUBLIC HOUSING. . .**

"We believe that CHA's control of these functions are leading to divisions among the tenants, corruption, inefficiency, and often follow a policy of driving tenants from public housing.

**"7. WE WANT A SYSTEM OF RENT CONTROL TO ACHIEVE AND MAINTAIN HOUSING FOR LOW AND MODERATE-INCOME TENANTS TO BE MEASURED BY MAINTAINING A 6% VACANCY RATE.**

"We believe that landlords are providing a public service, just as utility and transportation companies do, and that they should be regulated by the city to achieve and maintain the stated government goal of a decent home for every family.

**"8. WE WANT TENANT RECEIVORSHIP**





Ms. ELAINE BROWN.

federal government to tear down certain buildings and put up their shopping centers — a 'City Center' — as most cities will do. But in applying for this subsidy there are one or two things they must answer on their application. They have to either say that they have a five per cent vacancy rate in the city or they have to say that they're willing to provide a

#### OF BUILDINGS FOR CODE-DELINQUENT LANDLORDS...

"We believe that landlords who do not maintain their buildings up to building codes should have their buildings taken away from them and placed in the receivership of the tenants who would take over the management of the building, paying costs out of their rents.

#### "9. WE WANT ANY NEW PUBLIC HOUSING THAT IS BUILT TO BE FREE OF RESTRICTIONS THAT EXCLUDE LARGE FAMILIES..."

"Many of the new 'scattered site' housing units that have been built restrict the number of tenants so that families with more than two children are excluded. This is unjust and does not fit the housing needs of the tenants of Chicago.

#### PLANNED DEVELOPMENT

#### "10. WE WANT PLANNED DEVELOPMENT IN THE CITY TO PRESERVE THE MAJORITY LOW-INCOME POPULATIONS OF EXISTING NEIGHBORHOODS..."

"We believe that the city should enforce the planned development ordinance of the Chicago Zoning Ordinance which says that a planned development of more than two acres must be in line with government policies and the desires of the people in the community. The city should stop developers who wipe out low and moderate-income housing for poor and minority tenants with plans to replace these buildings with upper and middle-income developments.

"We recognize that there is a problem in the city with a declining tax base and increasing need for services. We believe that this problem should be solved by bringing more jobs back into the city, not by driving out the unemployed to be unemployed somewhere else. □"

replacement housing program on a one-to-one basis of units.

"Now, why do I have to explain this? This is one very simple technicality but it is very important, I think, because what we found out is that Oakland, like other cities, had lied on its application to the federal government. The city said that it had a five per cent vacancy rate. In fact, there was no vacancy in Oakland; there's no vacancy of decent housing in most of the cities I've mentioned.

"So, we called them on it. We said, 'Where's the five per cent vacancy?' They said, 'Well, here it is,' and they gave us a list of public housing.

"Now in Oakland people are on a six-year waiting list. There are only 400,000 people in Oakland and there are 6,000 people on the waiting list for public housing. They have the audacity to talk about the five per cent vacancy rate and, in fact, there is no vacancy rate."

"What did this mean? The city... said they had it. We said they didn't. We said, 'Then we'll go to court to discuss this.'

"In other words, 'You violated the law. We're going to take you to court.' They can't go to court because if they go to court and waste four years with us, they will lose the bonds issued for those four years, and that means their project is held up

#### RESOLVE THEIR PROBLEM

"Then, we started talking about what they were going to do to resolve their problem now that they were stuck. It was their problem, not ours. We said to them, 'You're going to have to build some replacement housing because it costs more money to rehabilitate housing than to build new structures.' We said that it would be cheaper for them to build new housing because they were going to have problems trying to rehabilitate the old, delapidated buildings. They said, 'Well, where will we get the money from?' We said, 'You ought to try to figure this out because you do have a problem right now, if you want the City Center project. Why don't you go to the federal government? Ask HUD like we have to do all the time.'

"And so the city did. But HUD told them, 'You know Nixon put a moratorium on housing money and there hasn't been any housing money for so long it's a shame.' Then the city came back to us and said, 'HUD doesn't have any housing money. What will we do? We can't build any housing.'

"We said, 'Well, even before you build these downtown centers, we know that you build up a larger tax base. (They raise the property taxes in areas where they're going to put up new property and they start collecting taxes on this higher property value.) You have this money just sitting there,' we told them. 'You ought to use this money for this very much needed new housing.'

"The essence of the story is that, in fact, the city of Oakland had ended up having to pay \$12 million to build 300 replacement housing units for people displaced by the City Center project.

"By the way, let me tell you this one more factor. I don't know what the Illinois state law is — but it would be worth your while to look into it — but the California law states that cities cannot own public housing unless it is done through a public vote. In other words, in California, cities have to go to the people and ask for the tax money needed to finance and own public housing projects. You know the middle-class people aren't likely to go for that

— they're never going to give their taxes for poor people's housing.

"So, we said, 'Listen, you can't even own these new houses but we're going to help you out on that, too. We're going to form a community board, a nonprofit corporation, and this corporation will own this property until such time as people move in.' In our corporation by-laws, we have stated that once people are actually settled in these replacement housing units, tenants' unions will be formed that will own the units themselves.

"I'm telling you this because it's been an experience that has worked. But even more than that, it has sparked an enthusiasm on the part of people who lived in that area who would never have had any idea that their word meant anything.

#### CITY OF OAKLAND

"This was one area, the city of Oakland, and it worked. I will bet you — Sister Marion (Marion Stamps) and I talked about this earlier today — that there are a bunch of little technicalities here in Chicago, and that there are people around here who can investigate all those things and discover them.

"It can happen in Chicago too. Look at it this way. It's like the concept of 'sparking a prairie fire.' If this success can take place in Oakland, and, you can make it happen in Chicago, it can happen with housing in Philadelphia, in Atlanta, in Jackson, Mississippi, and so forth down the line. People will begin to see that we can do something for ourselves.

"We are not reliant upon the Black 'messiahs' or the White 'messiahs' or any other 'messiahs.' But wherever three or four of us are gathered, that's where the 'messiah' will be. I'm saying that we don't need all of that. What we need is each other.

"If we can do this with housing, then we can do this with land, and we can do this with banking, and we can do this with industry. I think we can do fantastic things together.

"This Conference is the beginning of that. I want you to know that I've been to a lot of places in this country and I haven't seen this kind of serious organization of people who have come together — old and young, Black and White, people together. This is the first time I have been able to see this. It makes me feel very happy to have the honor to be here and share this information with you.

"Power to the People!" □



Tenant organizers hard at work during recent Chicago housing conference.



# THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

## MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

### WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

#### 1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

#### 2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

#### 3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

#### 4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

#### 5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

#### 6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

#### 7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor

people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

#### 8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

#### 9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

#### 10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



## Intercommunal News

M.P.L.A. NEARS TAKEOVER OF  
ENEMY "CAPITAL"

F.N.L.A. And U.N.I.T.A. Abandon Huambo

(Luanda, People's Republic Angola) - Pressing Western-backed forces to abandon their "capital" city of Huambo, armed troops of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) were reported at week's end to have advanced to the outskirts of Huambo, proclaiming that "the hour of the final blow is near."

In a report made here, Tass, the official Russian news agency, said that the MPLA had overrun the town of Alto Hama and controlled all roads leading to Huambo, formerly Nova Lisboa. The important coastal towns of Lobito and Benguela were also hit by MPLA strike forces, news reports said.

Huambo, until hastily abandoned earlier in the week, had served as the seat of government for the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the two CIA-supported factions that have been battling the legitimate government of Angola, led by the MPLA, since the West African nation won its independence from Portugal on November 11, 1975.

Radio Luanda broadcasts reported that MPLA forces were "advancing victoriously on all fronts in their march to liberate the remaining provinces still under the control" of UNITA and that "scores of stragglers of the

defeated army" had been rounded up by the MPLA troops. FNLA-UNITA forces reportedly moved their headquarters to Silva Porto in the face of the MPLA's advances on Huambo. Sporadic fighting between the two pro-Western factions has also been reported.

In a related development, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda declared a state of emergency in his country — which borders Angola on the east — justifying his action on the basis of "the grave situation which jeopardizes the country's (Zambia's) security."

"A plundering tiger and her deadly cubs are coming in by the back door," Kaunda said, in a reference to Russia and Cuba which have supplied military weapons and troops respectively to the MPLA. Kaunda has been severely criticized by several members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for his strong support of UNITA, which maintains a headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia's capital city.

Meanwhile, Portuguese refugees fleeing to Kinshasa, Zaire, from northern Angola reported that FNLA forces have lost virtually all the areas once under



MPLA troops entrench themselves in position along Angola's Atlantic coast region. Huambo, the "capital" of the CIA-backed UNITA and FNLA factions, is presently under attack by the MPLA-led liberation forces.

its control. According to the refugees, the situation in northern Angola is "chaotic" and there is a "mass exodus" of Portuguese settlers as well as FNLA forces, and mercenaries from the U.S. and Zaire. Zaire has been providing armed support to the FNLA and UNITA.

The Portuguese refugees said that the hasty retreat of the FNLA forces had been accompanied by widespread looting — most of the looting being done by the Zairean army units. The coffee plantation center of Carmona, once the principal town of northern Angola, was said to have been thoroughly looted by Zairean troops who abandoned the city without a fight last month.

The Portuguese refugees also described events in Maquela do Zombo, close to the border of Zaire, where Zairean forces staged a mock attack, pretending

## LOPO DO NASCIMENTO

## Interview With

## Prime Minister

## Of The People's

## Republic Of Angola

The following is Part 1 of an interview conducted in mid-December, 1975, by the French language biweekly *Afrique-Asie* with Lopo do Nascimento, the prime minister of the People's Republic of Angola. The interview is reprinted from People's Translation Service.

## PART 1

Q: At one time, leaders of the MPLA had envisioned the possibility of constituting a government of national union, in which not only MPLA members would participate, but also independent persons with a background of anticolonial struggle. This plan was not kept. Could one say in any case that the current movement is representative of all the classes composing Angolan society?

DO NASCIMENTO: The Angolan people have always expressed themselves through the MPLA since its founding. (We are going to celebrate the 19th anniversary of the MPLA's founding in the next few days.) In the political struggle as in the military struggle, it is the MPLA which represents the people, at times in an unstructured way. But the phase of guerrilla war is now past and it is up to the Movement to effectively take the reins of government into its hands. This is a consequence of the evolution of our country. And in the current situation, it is evident that we cannot provide for the representation of all classes of Angolan society in the government. Besides, that has not been our concern.

The two fundamental elements which we have had to take account of have been first, that the country is a victim of a war of aggression, and second, that to have a chance to conquer these aggressors, the government has to be composed of militants who have proven their adherence to the party line, to the defense of the working masses, their full commitment in the anticolonial struggle, and their will to fight to establish a democratic and popular regime.

Q: Does that mean that because of the war, the current

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

## THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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# U.S. MILITARY TRAINING FOREIGN TROOPS AS PART OF PENTAGON GLOBAL STRATEGY

*The U.S. government's covert involvement in Angola against the legitimate government of that country, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), is a prime example of how the power structure of this society attempts to enforce its will on other peoples of the world.*

*In Part 3 of the following article on the role of U.S. military training of foreign troops — part of the Pentagon's global strategy — it is shown how the military uses great care in the selection of candidates for its elite courses in fascism and terror tactics.*

*The article is reprinted from the January issue of the Latin America and Empire Report, published by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA).*

## PART 3

Finally, and apparently of least importance, U.S. training is supposedly intended to foster "a constructive and democratic approach by the military to their professional responsibilities and to the solution of national problems." However, the fact of increased intervention by primarily repressive and anti-democratic military officers, indicates that this goal is not being met. In a 1967 report to a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Professor Lieuwen reported:

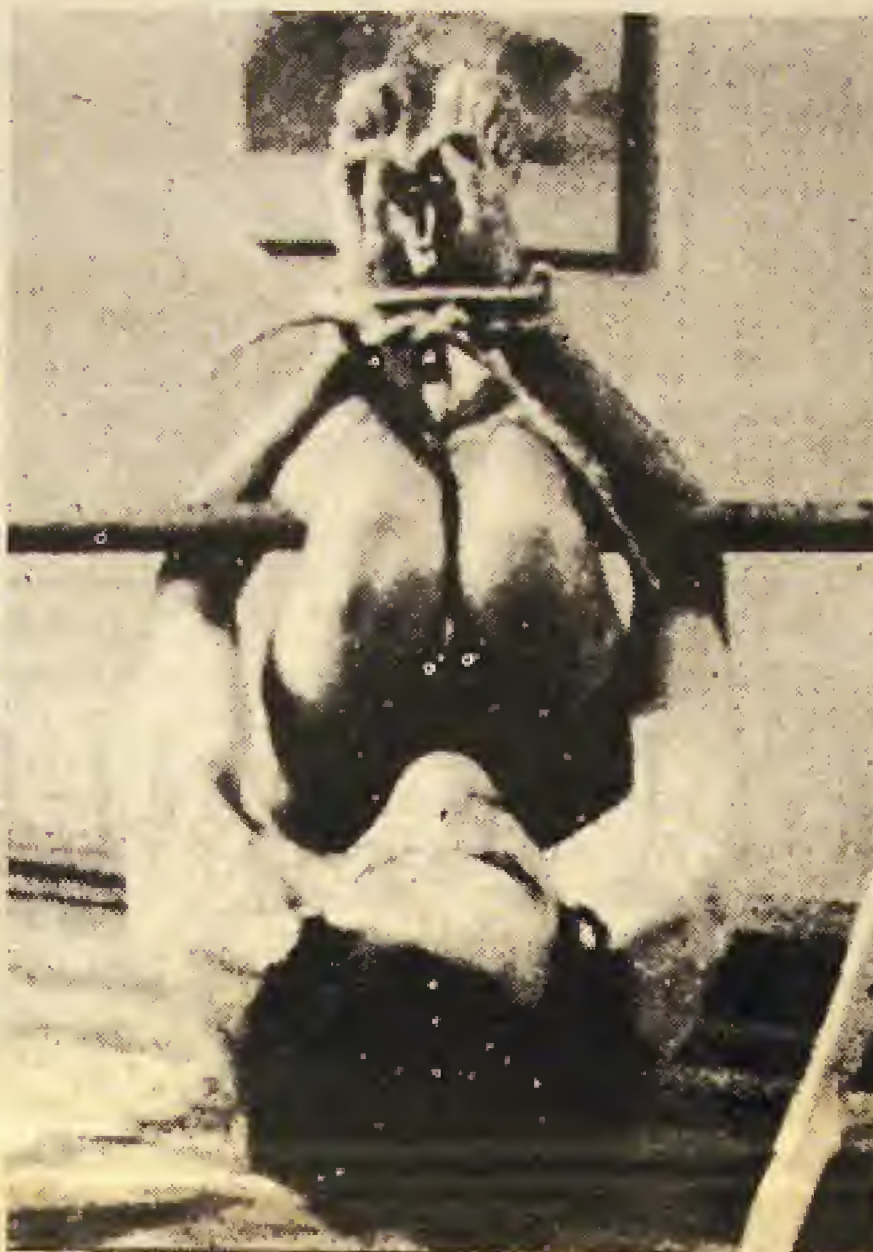
### INTERVENTIONS

"The recent wave of military interventions suggests that the U.S. training programs, the work of the missions, and the contact between United States and Latin American military men did little to improve military respect for civilian authority and constitutional processes. Most of the Latin American military leaders who conducted the nine coups between 1962 and 1966 had been recipients of U.S. training."

In addition, the more recent coups in Panama, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile have all been led by men who received at least some training in the United States or the Canal Zone.

The fact that so many military rulers attended U.S. training institutions was one reason cited by Congressional critics of the MAP program when they succeeded in imposing a limit on the number of foreign military personnel that can receive such training in any given year.

*Brazilian political prisoner is subjected to "parrot's perch" torture after capture by U.S.-trained military forces.*



Finally, it should be pointed out that military officers also attend U.S. colleges and universities for courses ranging from engineering to the social sciences. From Fiscal Year 1949 through Fiscal Year 1969, a total of 416 foreign military officers attended such schools. According to the Department of Defense:

"Normally the subjects available in United States institutions denote a degree of academic sophistication far beyond that achieved in the schools of the less developed countries. Yet in these countries . . . the need for training in management, economics, public administration, the

social sciences, and related fields is most critical. . . In many of these countries where the military plays a predominant role in national development, the collateral benefits accruing from the training of senior officers are obvious."

It was always expected that military leaders trained by the United States would assume important positions in their own countries, either within the military or as leaders of the government itself.

According to General Matthew B. Ridgway, former commander of the Southern Command in

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

## M.P.L.A. Nears Takeover Of "Capital"

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE  
to be MPLA forces, in order to drive out the population and steal their belongings.

As expected, South African troops remained in southern Angola last week despite earlier claims by the South African government that it was going to withdraw its forces that have been fighting alongside UNITA and FNLA.

South African "Defense Minister" Pieter Botha said that his country's troops would remain

in southern Angola until South Africa was certain that Namibia's (South West Africa's) border with Angola was safe. Namibia borders Angola on the south.

### ILLEGAL RULE

South Africa illegally rules Namibia and has used the Angolan war as an excuse to step up military activities against the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the Namibian independence movement that is waging an armed struggle against South Africa. □

## AFRICA IN FOCUS



### United Nations

The United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid heard statements last week in denunciation of South Africa's aggression in Angola. The chairperson of the Committee, Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cisse of Guinea, said that South Africa's "desperate adventures," launched from the illegally occupied territory of Namibia (South West Africa), emphasized the inter-relationship of all the problems of colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

### Tanzania

Tanzania has achieved outstanding successes in eliminating illiteracy among its adult population. By last December, 66 per cent of the 5.5 million illiterates registered in 1969 had learned how to read and write. This is in contrast to 1961, when Tanzania first achieved independence, and 80 to 85 per cent of the population was illiterate.

### United Nations

The special Security Council committee dealing with the sanctions against White-ruled Rhodesia has expressed "deep concern" at continued embargo violations by the United States, and has appealed to the U.S. government to take steps to halt them.

### Mozambique

Putting forth the slogan, "Eliminate illiteracy so that all people can read and write," the Mozambican government, under the leadership of its president, Samora Moises Machel, has laid particular emphasis on education. Late last year, the first national training class for primary school teachers was held in Lourenco Marques. It was sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Culture and was attended by more than 100 teachers from all the provinces of the country.

M.P.L.A. Advances





African woman forced to perform hard labor because of world economic inequities.

## Third World Countries Urge New World Economic Order

(Geneva, Switzerland) — A fundamental change in the overall international economic order was the theme of the World Symposium on the Social Implications of a New Economic Order, held here from January 19 to 23.

The conference was attended by numerous high-ranking officials of various international organizations, statesmen, trade union leaders, business executives, professors, economists, sociologists and journalists from many countries, primarily Third World, *Hsinhua* news agency reports.

Conference participants noted that under the present world economic order, there are various forms of economic colonialism — imperialism — that exploit the resources of poor countries and illegally transfer them to rich countries.

Delegates to the four-day meeting also emphasized that the unchecked activities of the multinational corporations would not be tolerated in a new world economic order.

Several of the officials and statesmen present spoke before the delegates. In his message, President Echeverria of Mexico said:

"The fundamental objective of the new international economic order is to reduce the large disparities that exist today

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

# O.A.U. LIBERATION GROUP CALLS FOR INTENSIFIED ARMED STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

(Lourenco Marques, People's Republic of Mozambique) — The its right to build a political, economic and social system that best tion Committee held here from January 19 to 23 called on the people of southern Africa to strengthen their armed struggle against the racist regimes in order to win complete independence.

Representatives and observers from 26 African countries and representatives of some African national liberation movements as well as OAU Secretary General

William Eteki Mboumoua attended the meeting, *Hsinhua* news agency reports.

Addressing the opening ceremony, President Samora Machel of Mozambique pledged his country's support for the liberation struggle in Africa. He stressed:

### RESOLUTELY OPPOSES

"Africa fights against foreign bases. Africa resolutely opposes the continued presence of imperialist aggressive bases in the

Indian Ocean." President Machel said that the presence of foreign military bases is "a threat to Africa's liberation process and to its right to build political, economic and social system that best corresponds to the interest of its people."

The meeting studied the situation of the liberation struggles in southern Africa and adopted some resolutions which will be referred to the Conference of the OAU Ministerial Council for endorsement.



FRELIMO soldiers marching, carrying equipment, food and supplies.

## U.S. Vetoes Security Council Resolution On Palestinian Rights To "Independent State"

(United Nations) - The United States last week vetoed a U.N. Security Council resolution which affirmed the right of the Palestinian people "to establish an independent state in Palestine" and called for total Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in the 1967 Middle East war.

This marked the 13th time the U.S. has vetoed a Security Council resolution. The United States' last veto was in December, 1975, when the U.S. blocked a resolution which would have condemned Israeli raids into Lebanon.

According to a report in *The New York Times*, diplomats here were reluctant to offer a long-range analysis of the Council's action but generally agreed that the position of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has been strengthened. Despite U.S. objections, the PLO, recognized as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, had participated in the two-week long debate which preceded the vote.

Shafik al-Hout, a PLO spokesman, remarked that his organization felt it had achieved a new status through the debate, and with that status a sense of confidence. He added that it would take "another war" to achieve a just peace in the Middle East because Israel would never relinquish occupied territories where it had established settlements.

Ninemembers of the Security Council voted for the resolution with two countries, China and Libya, not participating in the vote. Britain, Sweden, and Italy abstained from the voting.

The resolution on Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) pointed out that the White minority Rhodesian regime is now playing a tactic of winning time, creating division and intensifying suppression.

The resolution appealed to the Zimbabwean freedom fighters to reinforce their armed struggle in order to win full independence and to form a majority government. It also asked OAU member states to extend political, diplomatic, moral and material support to the liberation struggle of the Zimbabwean people.

The resolution on Namibia (South West Africa) condemned the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African racist regime and urged assistance to the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) so as to intensify its armed struggle against South Africa.

The meeting also strongly condemned South Africa's policy of apartheid, or racial segregation.

The meeting admitted Mozambique as a member of the Liberation Committee and elected Mozambican Foreign Minister J.A. Chissano chairman of the next session. □



# Castro On Solidarity With People's Angola

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Apparently, according to the mentality of the U.S. leaders, the price for improving relations, or for having trade or economic relations, is to give up the principles of the Revolution. And we shall never renounce our solidarity with Puerto Rico.

What kind of people do they think we are? What country do they think they are dealing with? The old Cuba? No! This is the new Cuba, and this is a different country! And until they get this fact into their heads, I cannot see any possibility of improving relations, because we shall never desert our Puerto Rican brothers even if there are no relations with the United States for a hundred years.

## PUERTO RICO

Now it is not only Puerto Rico; now it is also Angola. In all our revolutionary process we have always followed a policy of solidarity with the African revolutionary movement. . . .

We have given our support to the progressive governments and revolutionary movements in Africa since the very moment of the victory of the Revolution. And we will continue supporting them!

This assistance has taken different forms: sometimes we have sent weapons; on other occasions we have sent men; we have sent

military instructors, or doctors or construction workers, and sometimes we have sent all three, construction workers, doctors and military instructors.

Loyal to its internationalist policy, what the Revolution has been doing since the beginning is to help wherever it can help, wherever it may be useful and, moreover, wherever this help is requested.

Similarly, we are helping the MPLA and the people of Angola, with whom we have had relations and have been cooperating since the very beginning of their struggle for independence against Portuguese colonialism. Many of the Angolan cadres studied in Cuba.

But, what happens? Undoubtedly, Ford's statements are occasioned by the fact that the imperialists are irritated with us. And why are they irritated? Because they had it all planned to take hold of Angola before November 11.

Angola is a territory rich in natural resources. Cabinda, one of the Angolan provinces, has large oil deposits. This country has great mineral wealth — diamonds, copper, iron. This is one of the reasons why the imperialists want to take hold of Angola.

And the story is perfectly well known: many years ago, when the



**FIDEL CASTRO:** "We practice our solidarity with Angola, we are helping Angola. And what we ask of the Congress of our Party is simply to support the policy. . . of helping the heroic people of Angola in all possible ways with all possible means!"

imperialists realized that these colonies would some day fight for their liberation, they began to organize their movements. Thus, they organized the FNLA, with CIA people. We are not the ones who say so. It has just been exposed by *The New York Times* in detail that the FNLA was organized by the CIA.

When the Angolan people were about to attain independence

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

## WORLD SCOPE



### Sahara

Fighting broke out for the first time last week between Algeria and Morocco in their dispute over the Sahara (formerly Spanish Sahara). According to the official Algerian news agency, Moroccan troops attacked Algerian troops taking medical supplies to Saharan refugees in the Amghala Oasis located on the border between Morocco and the Sahara. Algeria supports the POLISARIO Front of Sahara which seeks independence for the former Spanish territory that is slated to be divided between Morocco and Mauritania on February 28.

### Iran

The use of the Arabian Gulf country of Oman as a military testing ground for the training of Iranian armed forces was confirmed last week by official sources in Oman, other Islamic countries and Western countries. The Shah of Iran has been sending warplanes, ships as well as an over 3,000-man expeditionary force to help the sultan of Oman crush the 10-year-old Omani independence movement.

### People's China

The Civil Aviation of the People's Republic of China (CAAC) recently extended its airline service to Phnom Penh, the capital city of Cambodia. As of January 23, there will be a flight between Peking, China, and Phnom Penh on every other Friday.

### Colombia

The government of Colombia has reaffirmed its "unreserved" support for Panama's struggle to regain sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone. The pledge of support came from Colombian President Alfonso Lopez Michelson in a recent meeting in Colombia with Panama Head of State Gen. Omar Torrijos.



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## SLURS B.P.P.

## Billy Paul Hits

## Height Of

## Foolishness With

## "People's Power"

Billy Paul, in the song "People Power" from his album *When Love Is New*, makes a statement that is not only a slur on the Black Panther Party but also shows his shallow understanding of the real problems in American society.

Urging "people to believe all the things they could achieve with people power," Paul then exhorts "the Panthers and the Ku Klux Klan to stop fighting and join hands."

It is the height of foolishness for Billy Paul to suggest that the Black Panther Party has been spending its energies over the last 10 years fighting the Ku Klux Klan. First of all, no analogy can be made between the Party and the Klan. We're not talking about the Democrats versus the Republicans. The Black Panther Party is a political organization guided by the ideology of revolutionary intercommunalism whose ultimate objective is the redistribution of wealth among the poor and oppressed peoples of the world.

## WHITE BIGOTS

The Ku Klux Klan, on the other hand, is a small band of White bigots, who, under the devious manipulation of the power structure, vents its anger on "communists," Jews, "Spics," "niggers" and other people of color — accusing them of being the cause of America's problems.

The Klan does not even represent the majority of the White American community. Its sole function is to serve as an instrument whereby White people are kept so preoccupied with hating Black and other people of color that they become blinded to the real source of all our problems — economic exploitation by the American corporate elite.

The Black Panther Party is not part of "the problem" in America, yet this is what Billy Paul would have us think. While the Klan is part of the problem, we are not dealing with a simple question of racism in this country. If by "joining hands" with the Ku Klux Klan the Black Panther Party could achieve its objective — that of creating a society where all human beings can enjoy a decent life — then we could stop the struggle tomorrow. That,

## "GOOD TIMES" BRAINWASHES VIEWERS ON CUBA AND THE F.B.I.

Black families throughout America are expected to — and no doubt many do — identify with the Evans family of the popular Black family television series *Good Times*. The Evanses are a group of poor, honest, down-to-earth Black Americans whom TV writers portray as "typical Black folk."

However, the Evans family's often passive acceptance of "hard times" is quite unbelievable to many of the program's Black viewers. Indeed, the January 25 episode of the series demonstrated that *Good Times* is one of the subtlest pieces of indoctrination aired on TV today. In this episode, the writers focused in on what the U.S. government considers to be "subversive" thinking.

The show opened with Florida's (Ester Rolle) worried questioning of "J.J." (Jimmie Walker) concerning a pamphlet she found in his room that was mailed from Cuba. J.J. denies any knowledge of the pamphlet, but young Michael (Ralph Carter) — whose serious inquiries, observations and statements are too often discredited as those of a naive child influenced by the local Black nationalists — arrives home to announce that the pamphlet is his.

As a shocked and ashamed Florida listens, Michael explains that he decided to compare the Cuban Revolution to the American Revolution for a Bicentennial class assignment. "I wrote to the Cuban government for the pam-

phlet. . . They have a dictatorship and we have a democracy," Michael observed.

Cuba has long been a thorn in the side of the power structure of America. Only 90 miles off the coast of the U.S., the Cuban people, under the dynamic leadership of Prime Minister Fidel Castro, courageously took control of their country from the hands of U.S. business interests and overthrew the reactionary Cuban government. Despite the massive odds against them, the Cuban people today control their industries and the vast wealth growing in the country's sugar fields.

However, we did not get this picture of Cuba in last week's *Good Times*. Florida explains to Michael that due to the unfriendly relations between the U.S. and Cuba, mail sent from one country to the other is opened by the government of the receiving country. Michael vehemently defended his right to investigate, but Florida denounced his project, insisting that it could bring great trouble to the family.

Minutes later, a fatigued and as usual, jobless, James (John Amos) comes home. Perplexed about why he lost his job, Florida tells James that Michael may have been responsible for his father's misfortune.

Next, Wanda, the family friend, enters. Visibly nervous, she explains that she has just received a visit from an FBI agent who questioned her extensively



Cast of Good Times.

about the Evanses.

Another knock on the door reveals a "polite and considerate" Black FBI agent. He confirms that James did lose his job when the FBI drilled his boss for information on his political affiliations. The implied message of the agent is that America — in which Black people have no responsible function — must be protected at any cost.

However, the FBI agent assures the Evanses that all is now well. James will get his job back and the family's life will return to normal. (After all, it is the "real" subversives that the FBI is after.) James wonders how many others like him did not get their jobs back. The viewer is left with the impression that James is one of the lucky ones whom the establishment has chosen to smile upon.

## REALITY

Contrary to what was presented on *Good Times*, in reality a James Evans would not have gotten his job back, nor is the FBI polite or considerate in its questioning or its work. As for Cuba, history has shown us that the victory of the Cuban people is a victory for oppressed people everywhere.

No one with an understanding of the poverty and oppression in this country should in honesty be able to laugh at *Good Times*. To let the FBI into our homes is to invite a ruthless enemy into our lives. The FBI, along with the police and other law enforcement agencies of the U.S. government, pretend to protect our lives, yet their very actions lead to the promotion of poverty, the destruction of independent thinking and most importantly, a cruel and murderous life for Black and poor people.

*Good Times* is a light and funny half hour of brainwashing. We must view it and the various police/violence-oriented TV series with an open eye and a critical ear. □



### Blackness

*Black is not just the color of skies at night  
Black is the color of the skin in white men's eye sight  
Black is not just calling us niggers  
Or just killing a man with the pull of a trigger.  
I'm going to tell you what Black is to me.  
Black is the bearing of a fruit bearing tree.*

—DeeDee Parks  
Charlotte, N.C.

however, is not the solution.

The purpose of the Black Panther Party is not now and has never been to fight the Ku Klux Klan. The Party is attempting to organize Black people and other oppressed people so that together we can unite to fight the common

enemy and thereby intensify the struggle to eliminate the racism, poverty and exploitation that exists in this world.

Fortunately, Billy Paul's records don't sell very well so maybe no one will ever even hear "People Power." □



## Supreme Court Rules In Favor Of Warrantless Arrests

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

intervene in police brutality complaints.

This decision grew out of a bitter dispute between citizen's groups and the Philadelphia Police Department, formerly headed by Frank L. Rizzo who is now mayor of the city.

Police brutality complaints and lawsuits are most often made by Black and other minority citizens, and the high court's decision on this matter will make it virtually impossible for such lawsuits to be won in court.

### DISSENT

In writing the dissent opinion, Justice Harry A. Blackmun said the majority rejected traditional concepts that supervisors can be held liable for the misconduct of their subordinates.

"There must be federal relief available against persistent deprivation of federal Constitutional rights even by (or perhaps I should say particularly by) constituted authority on the state side," Blackmun said.

In a ruling related to the warrantless arrest issue, the Court said that the fact that a defendant is in custody after an arrest when he allegedly "consented" to a search is only one of the circumstances to consider in deciding whether the consent was voluntary.

The Court also said that the fact that a defendant did not know he was allowed to withhold consent is a minor point in deciding the validity of the oftentimes arbitrary police search procedures. □

## Judge Blocks Prosecution Stall Attempt In Attica Trials

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

"They're doing nothing but stalling so they can get more stuff against us," one of the defendants, Frank ("Big Black") Smith, told the judge.

"We're ready for trial and if they ain't, it's just tough stuff."

Scotti later said that he was not "stalling or attempting to move anyone out of position."

He said he could not understand the position of the defendants in objecting to the delay. "They had everything to gain and nothing to lose," Scotti remarked, displaying what observers thought to be little understanding of being in the position of having charges pending for so long a time.

## 5,000 Tribute Paul Robeson At N.Y. Funeral "Celebration"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

(It was not until 1943 that U.S. racial bias would allow him to perform *Othello* in America, but when he did, the show set a Shakespearean Broadway record with 296 performances.)

In 1934, passing through Germany on the first of what became many visits to the Soviet Union, Robeson was subjected to the racist taunts of Hitler's storm troopers. Arriving in Moscow, he was impressed, he said, by the absence of racial prejudice under the Soviet socialist system.

That incident, plus others he experienced in America and when he went to Spain in the late 1930s

to sing for the International Brigades fighting Franco's fascism, moved Robeson in the direction of socialism.

Later, his studies led him to express "my belief in the principles of scientific socialism (and), my deep conviction that for all mankind a socialist society represents an advance to a higher stage of life."

Concerning his experiences in Spain, he remarked, "I saw the connection between the problems of all oppressed people and the necessity of the artist to fully participate."

Back in the U.S. Robeson stepped up his political activity

## Black Advances In Southern Politics

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

presentatives, two circuit clerks, one chancery clerk, two tax collectors, one county attorney, four coroners, four county superintendents of education, 16 county supervisors, 28 constables, 19 justices of the peace, five county school board members, and two election commissioners. The county superintendents of education in Clairborne, Wilkinson, and Jefferson counties are the first Blacks to be elected to these county posts.

•North Carolina — Of 83 Black victories in North Carolina in municipal elections, 77 were city council positions and the remaining six were mayors. Two Black members were elected for the first time to the Carrboro City Council.

"With greater protection of minority voting rights during the first decade of coverage under the federal Voting Rights Act, we could have seen even greater

advances," commented John Lewis.

"But the Voting Rights Act was renewed for another seven years, providing us with the challenge and the opportunity to make it an even more meaningful piece of legislation. We will need to see a greater commitment on the part of the Justice Department, with additional staff and funding for both affirmative and enforcement efforts."

### BICENTENNIAL

"In this Bicentennial year, I don't see how our national leaders can justify anything less than the full participation of minorities in American politics," Lewis concluded.

"Too many people are disfranchised by complicated registration procedures and unnecessary registration requirements. We need to do away with such outmoded practices. We must open the political process and let the people in." □

during the 1940s: leading a delegation that urged baseball's commissioner to drop the racial bars in that sport; starting a crusade against lynching and urging President Truman to widen Black civil rights in the South; and in 1948, becoming founder and chairman of the Progressive Party.

Robeson's active opposition to U.S. racism and his open admiration for the Soviet Union and the ideas of socialism inflamed White



PAUL ROBESON (left) greets W.E.B. Du BOIS in 1949.

public opinion against him during the Cold War years. Summoned before the House and Senate Un-American Activities Committees in 1948, he refused to say whether or not he was a communist, instead calling his questioners "fascist-minded."

From 1950, when the State Department revoked his passport to 1958, when a Supreme Court decision in a related case forced its return, Robeson was virtually a prisoner in America. Blacklisted and scorned by White theaters, his income dropped from \$104,000 in 1947 to \$2,000 by 1952.

### ILL HEALTH

Robeson tried to revive his career in the late 1950s both in the U.S. and abroad, and although he met with varying degrees of success, by 1961 ill health forced his retirement from the stage. From 1963 to 1965, Robeson lived quietly with his wife in Harlem. Upon her death, he moved to the Philadelphia home of his sister, where he died of a heart attack on January 23.

At the funeral, Lloyd Brown, Robeson's official biographer, commented:

"A whole generation must be startled to learn now that such a person actually existed in their lifetime — a modern day Black American with the manifold talents of a Renaissance man.

"... Perhaps their inquiring minds will seek to learn why Paul Robeson was literally kept out of their sight and out of their textbooks for all these years." □



## SPORTS

# PRO FOOTBALL'S FIRST BLACK OWNER VICTIM OF PLOT BY FLORIDA RACISTS

(Orlando, Fla.) - Rommie Loudd, pro football's first Black owner, currently in jail here on embezzlement and drug charges, has been the victim of a "legal lynching" by White racists determined to drive him out of the business, according to an article in the January, 1976, issue of *Black Sports* magazine.

Loudd, a former UCLA All-American and pro football star for the Chicago Bears, San Diego Chargers and Boston Patriots, had risen through the ranks of professional football to become owner of the now defunct World Football League's (WFL) Florida Blazers. Because of his football knowledge, Loudd had been able to line up at one time investors with a net worth of \$40 million to support the team.

After being player personnel director for the New England Patriots, Loudd went to Florida in 1972 to begin organizing for a professional football franchise at the request of these investors.

Although Loudd encountered various problems with Orlando and Orange County, Florida, officials, he was very successful in organizing everyday citizens to support his project. Within one year Loudd secured 30,000 pledges for ticket purchases through his public speaking and had formed a pro football booster

*ROMMIE LOUDD, the first Black owner in professional football, talks to newsmen who were later to be partly responsible for his demise.*



club with over 1,000 members at \$10 a head.

With this support Loudd attempted to obtain a franchise from the National Football League. However, Orlando city officials reneged on promises to provide an adequate stadium and the franchise was awarded to Tampa, Florida, instead.

At this point, all but two of Loudd's original investors pulled out and he had to settle for a franchise from the then infant World Football League.

Unfortunately money problems and squabbles with his major investor, David Williams, Jr., came up and subsequently took

their toll. In December of 1974 Loudd was charged with failure to pay \$30,000 in state sales taxes from ticket sales and the WFL Board of Directors voted to give Williams unconditional control of the team, pushing Loudd completely out of the picture.

In March, 1975, Loudd was charged with taking part in a \$1,500 cocaine delivery in a Boston suburb and another \$4,800 drug delivery in Orlando. In both instances, he was allegedly present and was supposed to have set up drug purchases for an undercover agent named Steve Cox. Yet another charge alleged that Loudd conspired with others to bring in a \$100,000 cocaine shipment around the same time.

The alleged shipment never came off as 40 local, state and federal agents staked out a suburban Orlando home. Out of all of these transactions, Loudd is charged with making \$400, yet he is now in an Orange County jail on a \$552,500 bond, \$500,000 of which is for the drug shipment that never took place.

## \$225,000 BAIL

Loudd's bail has been reduced to \$225,000 which he still has not been able to pay. The local media, headed by Orlando's racist *Sentinel-Star* (the city's sole newspaper) began to portray Rommie Loudd as the head of a million dollar international drug ring.

Loudd's lawyer, Ellis Rubin, has stated publicly that, "I'm going to have to prove that he (Loudd) was the victim of the Orlando *Sentinel Star*, certain business establishments in this town and certain individuals. I feel that the man is the victim of a terrible ripoff and should not be in jail. □"

## MARTIAL ARTS



All  
Were Winners  
At  
O.C.L.C.'s

### Friendship Tournament

On Saturday, January 24, 1976, the Oakland Community Learning Center hosted its first Martial Arts Friendship Tournament. This event focused on weight divisions and age divisions to reduce the possibilities of mismatches in physical/technical abilities and subsequent injuries. Divisions ranged from 5 years to 17 years and older, with events open to all students, white belt (beginners) up through green belt (advanced students).

Certificates were awarded to 4 finalists in a division and all competitors were recognized whether they were finalists or not.

The events and finalists were:

Pee Wee Kata (ages 8-10) - Kelley Lambert; Senior Kata (17 and over) - Richard Myers and Victoria Tukeya; One-Step Sparring - Chuck Currey, Victoria Tukeya, Rocky Lambert, Kelley Lambert; Freestyle, boys (ages 8-10) - Chris Hester, Rocky Lambert, Kevin Tuggle (OCLC), Eugene Burks (OCLC); Freestyle, girls (ages 11-13) - Danita Wright, Charlotte Crawley, Kelley Lambert, Giselle Pheanious.

Freestyle, boys (ages 11-13) - Bruce Presley (OCLC), Gregory Slack (OCLC), Emmett Granville (OCLC); Freestyle, girls (ages 14-16) - DeeDee Livingston, Diane Beamon (OCLC), Lavonda Lee, Sandra Howard (OCLC); Freestyle, boys (ages 14-16) - Chris Alla, Chuck Kerby, Danny Simms (OCLC), Osais Rayne.

Senior Women Freestyle (lightweight) - Shelly Mazer, D. Lambert; Senior Women Freestyle (heavyweight) - Annette Taylor, Victoria Tukeya; Senior Men Freestyle (lightweight) - Andrew Taylor, Fred Moorehead (OCLC), Lebaron King, Brian Hong; Senior Men (middleweight) - Chris Williams, Reggie Johnson, Richard Myers, Julius Foster; Senior Men Freestyle (heavyweight) Chris Alla.



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Noon

Monday  
7:00 p.m.

Wednesday  
5:00 p.m.



# Interview With Prime Minister Of People's Republic Of Angola

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

government is very different than what it would be in times of peace?

DO NASCIMENTO: Of course, the situation of war has influenced the composition of the government in certain ways. There are, for example, cadres of the Movement who would have been part of the government, but are not, due to the war. However, one could not say that the government is very different than ferent. In the key posts, in particular, the persons chosen would be the same; the principal goal being to transform the MPLA into a political party.

Q: According to the constitutional law which was passed, it specified that for the time being, given the circumstances, the People's Assembly would not be the supreme organ of the state in the People's Republic of Angola. This function is delegated to the Revolutionary Council. What are its structures, its role, and its relations with other organs of state power?

DO NASCIMENTO: The Revolutionary Council in fact currently replaces the National Popular Assembly. We were faced with only two alternatives: make the Council a restricted limited organ, in order to obtain dynamism and maximum efficiency — we can point out, that in many other countries, the Revolutionary Council is effectively a restricted organ, without direct representation of the base organizations — or, make it an enlarged organ, giving it the character of an assembly.

## BALANCED SOLUTION

At last we chose a balanced solution. The Revolutionary Council is composed of members of the political bureau, of the military staff, leaders of the military staff, and political leaders of each military front, as well as members of the government designated by the MPLA: Antonio Jacinto, David Aires Machado, and Diogene Boavida. The provincial leaders who are the representatives of the party, not only of the government, also participate in the Revolutionary Council, in all, 30 or 40 people.

Nevertheless, to insure, the dynamism and efficiency that we seek, a permanent restricted council was created which takes the place of the Revolutionary Council anytime that an important and urgent decision must be made and it is impossible to convene the Revolutionary Council — which happens often because a large number of its members are at the fronts.

One can therefore say that the Revolutionary Council is the supreme organ of state power, because its purpose is to both define the political line of the state and to represent the political bureau which is at the top of the party.

Q: The participation of military seems very important.

DO NASCIMENTO: It is, but aren't we at war? What we are waiting for, is the end of this transitional phase.

Q: Economic destabilization provoked by this war, the departure of numerous European professionals and the sabotage at different levels have led to a crisis of national proportions. What are the immediate measures — economic, social, political — that the government plans to take, to attempt to stop it?

DO NASCIMENTO: We must indeed deal with a serious economic crisis due to two factors. There are certain internal ones; the departure of European professionals, sabotages and military confrontation. But above all there are external factors; particularly the boycott on the part of the U.S., oil blackmail, funds frozen in American banks, nondelivery of already paid for material, for example: two Boeing 737s at \$37 million apiece, on which the U.S. government has placed an embargo; maneuvers in order to prevent Angola, the second largest world producer of coffee, from signing an agreement on its marketing. This type of sabotage is more difficult to combat than the internal type.

## House Votes Aid Cut-Off To Angola

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

House's decision. John L. Burton, a Democrat from California, was quoted as saying that anyone who voted for more aid to Angola "might as well start drawing retirement pay."

Ford's last-minute desperate effort to win House approval of the Angola appropriation failed. In a letter delivered to House speaker Carl Albert just hours before the vote, Ford expressed "grave concern over the international consequences of the situation in Angola."

Albert, however, attacked the President's plea, calling it "a typical Ford operation — wave your hand, make a gesture and that's the end of it."

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who served as the White House's chief intermediary with Congress over the Angola aid



Victorious MPLA troops on parade in Luanda.

What measures are to be taken? We have defined certain priority sectors of the economy. In a colonial system enterprises are set up not as part of an economic plan but according to the criteria of maximizing profits. It is therefore out of the question for the state to help all the sectors indiscriminately. Rather, it will give optimum aid to those it deems a priority. Everybody must be aware of this: the workers, business people, the consumers.

## Black Assembly Nominates Bond

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

and the parties have continually changed, one truth has faced us insistently never changing — both parties have betrayed us whenever their interests conflicted with ours (which was most

Furthermore, the total disorganization of commerce is going to require selection of the most important goods in order to eliminate those that are superfluous. The state is going to take control of the commercial networks and will be forced to intervene much faster and more firmly than it had expected, especially in the matter of pricing. The long waiting lines, for example, are due not so much to a lack of merchandise, as to the decrease in the number of distribution centers.

We must therefore create cooperatives for production and for distribution. But, for the time being, we must set up supermarkets in order to restore an adequate level of consumption, even by making use of private businesses which possess the appropriate means and technology. This is not done in order to expand the private sector, but because it is an objective necessity.

On the social level, we have begun a study of fiscal policy in order to bring about a redistribution of revenues to benefit the most underprivileged. We have already decided to reduce government officials' salaries by 50 per cent. This measure is more political in nature than truly effective, but it is at least a first step. **TO BE CONTINUED**

of the time.). . . None of the Democratic candidates and none of the Republican candidates — regardless of their White constituencies — can solve our problems or the problems of this country without radically changing the systems by which it operates. . .

"Based on these conclusions, the National Black Political Assembly campaign will pose the alternative — a society based on humanism, democracy and self-determination; free of oppression and exploitation of humans by other humans; an end to racism, sexism, militarism, imperialism and all the insane derivatives of monopoly capitalism. . .

"The NBPA campaign will also highlight the conditions of America's oppressed nationalities and racial and cultural minorities with particular emphasis on democratic rights, self-determination, sovereignty and power and cultural integrity. . .

The aforementioned NCPP will hold its first meeting in Washington, D.C., February 20-22. In the meantime state Black assemblies will be organizing State Committees for People's Politics and mobilizing for the upcoming March convention. □

appropriation, was in Europe at the time of the House vote last week. Kissinger had been critical of the administration's efforts to secure additional funds for Angola.

Charging that the administration's efforts had been "botched," Kissinger said that had the White House decreased its request from \$28 million to \$10 million last December, it would have received the aid. This aid, Kissinger said, would have helped the FNLA and UNITA to create a military stalemate with the MPLA.

The MPLA's resounding defeats of FNLA-UNITA forces, however, make it clear that the Ford-Kissinger strategy of a stalemate in Angola underestimated the strength and determination of the MPLA to defeat the imperialist forces threatening the independence of Angola. □



## Watts N.A.A.C.P.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

At the press conference, Redeaux charged that the FBI and the CIA have fomented unrest and disunity through the use of young Blacks as informers and agent provocateurs, adding that the increased availability of guns is but one aspect of a "planned program to promote unrest, violence and murder in Black communities.

"Black people don't make guns," Redeaux said. "And we know there are no gun stores in our community." □

## Military Training Foreign Troops

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

the Canal Zone and a veteran of the fight against Augusto Cesar Sandino of Nicaragua, the first modern guerrilla leader in Latin America.

"The Commander in Chief of the Caribbean, and his component service commanders, exercise a tremendous influence on the military establishments and, therefore, on the political regimes of the Latin American republics. Our military establishment is their model, and the U.S. Army, particularly, is the model for the armies of most of the Latin American republics. And it is their armies which exercise the controlling influence over their governments."

This fact also governs the selection of military personnel attending U.S. training schools. Requests for MAP training are presented to the Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) which then coordinates the request with "training survey teams" that are sent to each MAP country with the estimates of the number and type of training spaces available at U.S. installations.

A security check is made of the proposed student to ascertain his political orientation, and then biographical data are furnished to each school the officer will attend, to the Defense Intelligence Agency and the U.S. Army Intelligence Command at Fort Holabird.

The aim is to select "highly motivated officers, (who) presently occupy or are destined to occupy influential positions in their armies or governments."

Several of the most important training centers for Latin Americans are discussed in more detail later.

TO BE CONTINUED

## Letters to the Editor

### Z.A.N.U. SENDS THANKS FOR SUPPORT

Dear Friends,

On behalf of ZANU and the struggling masses of Zimbabwe, I would like to thank you for the support you have been giving us.

Our struggle has been long and tortuous but your support which has been unwavering and has really encouraged us. As our struggle intensifies before our final victory, we are asking you not to tire.

You can be rest assured that the Zimbabwe people will leave no stone unturned in their effort to achieve real independence in Zimbabwe and contribute towards the fight against the exploitation of human beings by other human beings internationally.

Once more let me say that the support you have been giving us has been very helpful materially and in boosting our morale.

Yours in struggle,

Tirivafi Kangai

North America District Secretary,

Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)

San Francisco, California

### READS THE BLACK PANTHER WITH WHOLEHEARTED INTEREST

Dear Editor,

I am writing you because I would like to receive a copy of the Black Panther article in relationship to the Black Panther Party defection from the Black community and Eldridge Cleaver's defection from the Party. And I would like to know more about the philosophy of revolutionary intercommunalism. I read the Black Panther Party paper with wholehearted interest.

Power to the People,

Chester, Illinois

P.S. I read your editorial and I find that Roy Innis is a reactionary pig and Pearl Bailey is an idiot, a parrot for Patrick D. Moynihan, bourgeois and a complete fool. I don't know whose intelligence she thinks she can shortchange.

### MEMBERSHIP IN THE PARTY

Dear Comrades,

I'm writing this letter in order to thank you for your weekly publication of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper. I have received some valuable information from the paper.

I have for sometime now been trying to seek information on membership in the Party. I am very interested in this and hope that you'll let me know something on this very soon. Again I'd like to say thank you for your weekly newspaper and also for publishing my letter to you in the newspaper.

All Power To The People

Love to all,

Rubin Watson

Springfield, Illinois

(P.S. The information is on its way.)

### RENEW MY SUBSCRIPTION

Dear Black Panther Party,

I had a subscription with the B.P.P. newspaper and I've gotten a letter today stating that my subscription has expired. Will you please renew my subscription?

At the present time I don't have any funds to pay for a new subscription. If I did I would be more than glad to send the money. Really, I don't get any outside income. My parents were killed in an accident 7 years ago. THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper really turns on the Brothers here to what goes on in the outside world and inside of the prison world. The paper is great. I pass it around. Thank you very much.

Your Black Brother,  
Willie James Pritchett

Georgia State Prison  
Reidsville, Ga.

P.S. Peace unto you, more power to your great newspaper, keep up the good work.

## New World Order

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

between the rich countries and the poor. One cannot permit that the developed countries use the inappropriately named food aid as a weapon of political blackmail. We have sufficient natural and technical resources for our lands to produce abundantly."

The Mexican president also called for solidarity and the reducing of differences among developing countries.

In his message to the Symposium, Mohand Said Mazouzi, Algerian minister of labor and social affairs, stressed that "a new international economic order fully remains to be established," and that "it is necessary to expand and intensify the struggle of the peoples so as to gradually make it a reality."

Mazouzi denounced the multinational corporations "which persist in monopolizing the natural resources and essential labor of the underdeveloped countries, and continue to drain unscrupulously, through unequal exchanges and price machinery, the resources of the Third World."

Albert Tevoedjre, director of the International Institute of Social Studies, pointed out in his report that "the new economic order primarily concerns the sovereignty of natural resources.

"The sovereignty remains imperfect so long as it stays in the political field and does not extend equally to the economy." Tevoedjre added that in order to set up a new international economic order, it is necessary to abolish the privileges and recover the fundamental rights of the peoples of the Third World.

A delegate from Mali said that peoples of the Third World are suffering every day. "A new international economic order will not drop from heaven and the Third World countries should take concrete measures to establish it," he noted. □

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# Castro On Solidarity With People's Angola

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

— just as Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde and other countries attained their independence — imperialism worked out a way to crush the revolutionary movement in Angola. They planned to take hold of Cabinda, with its oil before November 11; to seize Luanda before November 11. And to carry out this scheme, the U.S. government launched South African troops against Angola.

You know that South Africa is one of the most hated and most discredited states in the world for three million Whites oppress fourteen million Black Africans. And there they have established one of the most ignominious, shameful and inhuman regimes that could ever be thought of, condemned by all nonaligned countries, and condemned by the United Nations.

South Africa not only maintains this fascist and racist regime in the south, but also occupies the territory of Namibia, where it has established a kind of protectorate.

And the U.S. government, absolutely devoid of all scruples, launched the South African regular troops against Angola. Thus Angola was being threatened on the north by the FNLA and was attacked on the south by regular troops organized into armored columns. Everything was ready to take over Angola before November 11.

## SOLID PLAN

And the plan was very solid; it was a solid plan; the only thing was that the plan failed. They had not counted on international solidarity, on the support given to the heroic people of Angola by the socialist countries, in the first place, and by the revolutionary movements and progressive governments of Africa, or the support we Cubans, among the world's progressives, also gave to Angola.

The imperialists did not count on that. What was the result? On November 8 they launched an offensive against Cabinda and were crushingly repelled. What they went through in Cabinda was a sort of Giron: in three days, in 72 hours, the invaders were annihilated. In Luanda, they were 25 kilometers from the capital on November 10; they attacked with armored columns; now they are more than 100 kilometers from Luanda.

The South African armored columns, which had been attacking since October 23 and had

advanced some 700 kilometers in less than 20 days, in a sort of military parade, were halted at more than 200 kilometers from Luanda, and have not been able to advance any further.

That is, the heroic struggle of the Angola people, supported by the international revolutionary movement, has made the imperialist plan fail.

And that is why the imperialists are irritated with us, among others. Some of them wonder why we help the Angolans, what interests we have there. They are accustomed to thinking that whenever a country does something, it is in pursuit of oil, or copper, or diamonds or some other natural resource.

## MATERIAL INTERESTS

No! We are not after material interests and, logically, the imperialists do not understand this, because they are exclusively guided by chauvinist, nationalist and selfish criteria. We are fulfilling an elementary internationalist duty when we help the Angolan people!

We are not looking for oil, or copper, or iron; we are not looking for anything at all. We are simply practicing a policy of principles. We do not remain passive when we see an African people, a sister people, that the imperialists all of a sudden want to swallow up, and that is brutally attacked by South Africa. We do not remain passive, nor will we remain passive!

Thus, when the imperialists ask us what are our interests, we will have to say: "Look, read a manual on proletarian internationalism so that you may understand why we are helping Angola."

That is the cause of their irritation and threats.

Can you imagine what this country's future would be like if the price of renewing relations with the United States were a return to the past? That the

country refrain from expressing its solidarity with its revolutionary brothers in the rest of the world? That we refrain from expressing our solidarity with the Vietnamese, the Lao people, the Cambodians, the Africans, the Yemenites and the Arabs, and with Syria, Algeria, Guinea and all those countries?

Our policy of solidarity is no secret. And one of the factors, one of the finest elements of this Congress was international participation.

And numerous representatives of prestigious countries have been present. They have spoken and have addressed our people



Cuban Prime Minister FIDEL CASTRO. He recently reaffirmed Cuba's undying solidarity with the struggle of the people of Angola, an example of which is shown by presence of Cuban troops in liberated Angola town (top photo).

with great affection and with great respect, and have made us feel that we belong to a great revolutionary family, and that that family is a powerful one. . .

Thus this revolutionary family has been forged. What is imperialism aiming for? That we break with this family? That we stop being a people in solidarity with those sister people fighting against imperialism? Then, which hopes or possibilities or prospects are embargoed by the President of the United States? Because at

that cost, then, there will never be relations with the United States!

Despite the fact that the policy of our Revolution is a policy of peace and of relations and coexistence with regimes of different ideologies and of different social systems. But they are not satisfied. It is as though we were to tell them they had to carry out an agrarian reform or to nationalize the electric power company in order to establish relations with us. What sort of conditions does imperialism intend to impose on our country?

We practice our solidarity with Angola, we are helping Angola. And we will continue to help the people of Angola! And what we ask of the Congress of our Party is simply to support the policy adopted by the leadership of the Party of helping the heroic people of Angola in all possible ways and with all possible means! (ALL DELEGATES, STANDING RAISE THEIR CREDENTIALS. LONG APPLAUSES AND SHOUTS OF "ANGOLA, ANGOLA, ANGOLA!")

TO BE CONTINUED



An MPLA military unit proudly marches during independence parade.



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